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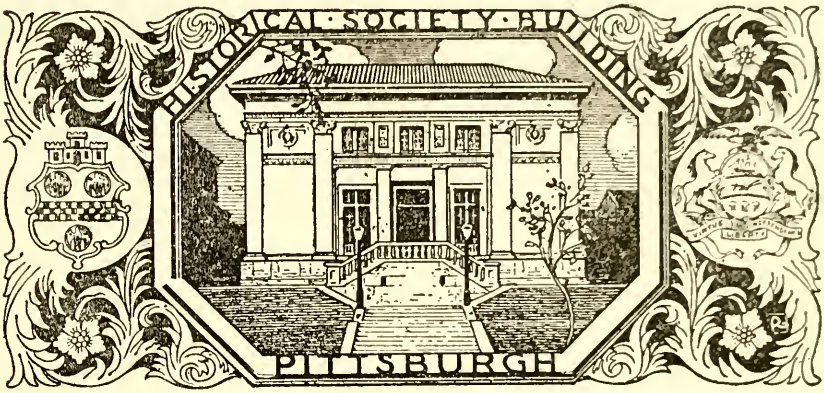
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME 6 1923

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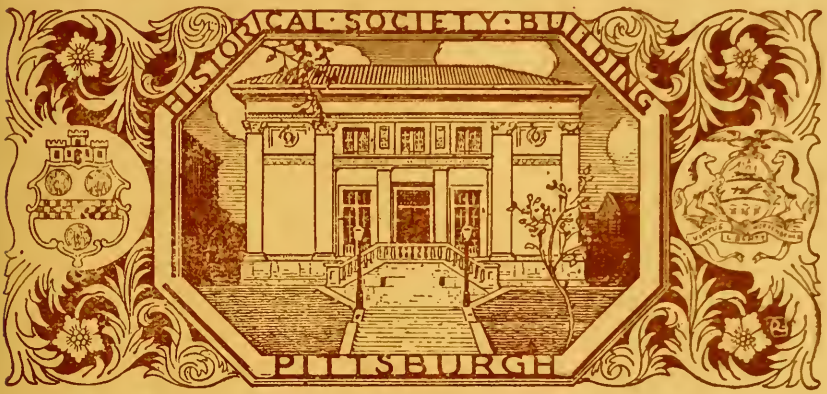

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

JANUARY, 1923

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 1

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

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BUST OF WILLIAM PITT

Presented to the City of Pittsburgh by Sir Charles Wakefield.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 6 No. 1 JANUARY, 1923 Price 75 cents

Presentation of the Bust of William Pitt to the City of Pittsburgh.

On Thursday, September 14th, 1922, The City of Pittsburgh was the scene of a most interesting ceremony which had direct relation to its practical founding and naming a hundred and sixty four years ago. This was the presentation to the City by Sir Charles Wakefield, former Lord Mayor of London, of a fine bronze bust of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the great English statesman, who was primarily responsible for the taking of the City of Pittsburgh from the French on November 25, 1758, and in whose honor the place was named on that day by General John Forbes.

Sir Charles Wakefield was induced to make his generous gift through the efforts of the Sulgrave Institute, an organization named after the home of the ancestors of George Washington and composed of Englishmen and Americans desirous of promoting good feeling between their respective countries. He therefore decided to present to this country two busts of great Englishmen noted for their sympathy with America, Edmund Burke and William Pitt. The first of these was presented to Washington, D. C. after his visit to Pittsburgh.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Upon notification of his intention as to Pittsburgh the matter was taken up by the Chamber of Commerce, which enlisted the interest of Mayor William A. Magee, who appointed a committee of arrangements headed by William H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. The other members of the executive committee were: Wm. M. Furey, Robert Garland, L. H. Burnett, Mrs. E. V. Babcock, W. M. Jacoby, Gen. Albert J. Logan, H. C. McEldowney, George S. Oliver, A. C. Terry, E. N. Jones, secretary to the Mayor, James Francis Burke, Charles W. Danziger, Wm. H. French and Harry C. Graham.

The 164th anniversary of the battle of Grant's Hill fought between the British and Colonial forces and the French and Indians was chosen as the date for the ceremony, the scene being the Pittsburgh City-County Building situated on the hill. The battle was fought for the possession of Fort Duquesne, but resulted in the defeat of the British and Colonials. Nearly a month later, however, on October 12th, 1758, they were successful in the battle of Loyalhanna, as a result of which Fort Duquesne was abandoned by the French and taken possession of by the British and Colonials on November 25th following.

Sir Charles Wakefield and his party reached Pittsburgh on the morning of September 13th. He was given a luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce, where he spoke pertinently and forcefully, as did his companion, Sir Arthur A. Haworth of Manchester, at a meeting in the auditorium presided over by William H. Stevenson, where he was introduced by President Wm. M. Furey of the Chamber. In the afternoon the party was taken for an automobile ride through the city, visiting the residence of ex-Mayor E. V. Babcock in Valencia, and in the evening attended a dinner at the William Penn Hotel. In his remarks before the Chamber of Commerce, Sir Charles Wakefield said in part: "We must increase the output of comradeship of both employer and employee." He expressed the thanks of the visiting delegation for the cordial welcome, told how he had spoken to the combined forces of British and the United States on the battle line in Belgium during the world war,

and spoke with deep feeling of hearing how the American soldiers responded with "Fight the Good Fight."

"I should like to see those good old times come again in one respect," he said. "I mean the unity of the trenches, the comradeship. I wish we might see the world's spiritual forces united as were our military forces in those great days."

In the party with Sir Charles Wakefield were: Lady Wakefield, Miss Freda Wakefield, Sir Arthur A. Haworth, President of the Merchants Exchange of Manchester, and Lady Haworth, Lieutenant Governor McCallum Grant of Nova Scotia and Mrs. Grant, Hon. D. B. Edwards, Deputy High Commissioner of Australia, H. S. Perris, a director of Sulgrave Institution, Harold Spender, writer, Captain M. L. DeVoto, John A. Stewart of New York, Chairman of the American Branch of the Sulgrave Institution, W. L. Humphrey, Secretary of the Institute, and Miss Ethel Armes, Secretary of the American Branch of the Sulgrave Institution.

At the dinner in the evening at the William Penn Hotel Chairman Stevenson presented James Francis Burke as the toastmaster. Speeches were made by Lieutenant Governor Grant, on "Our Next Door Neighbor;" by John A. Stewart, on "The Sulgrave Institution in Its Relation to the English Speaking race;" by Hon. D. B. Edwards, on "Hands Across the Sea;" and by Sir Charles Wakefield, Mayor W. A. Magee, Harold Spender and H. S. Perris. Dr. Hugh M. Kerr delivered the invocation. Andrew B. Humphrey proposed a toast to President Harding, Mayor Magee proposed a toast to King George IV, and Mrs. Perris proposed a toast to Mrs. Harding.

The next day, September 14th, at noon, the bust of Pitt was presented at a meeting held in front of the City-County Building, presided over by William H. Stevenson, who introduced the various speakers. Addresses were made by Governor William C. Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania, Sir Charles Wakefield, and Mayor William A. Magee. Dr. William J. Holland delivered the invocation.

Sir Charles Wakefield, in presenting the bust, which was wrapped with British and American colors, told briefly

the story of Pitt's life and paid glowing tribute to the American and British Sulgrave Institution through which the bust was presented. In part he said:

"It is my great privilege to offer this bust of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, prime minister of England and champion of American rights, to the City of Pittsburgh, as a token of friendship from the British to the American people.

"They will, I am sure, prize this fine bust of William Pitt, as much as we in London value that magnificent statue of Abraham Lincoln, which stands in the very shadow of our House of Parliament. The controversies in which Chatham played his heroic part are dead; the healing hand of time has smoothed out all the roughness and bitterness of that great struggle for liberty. English historians and the English people have long since condemned the mistaken policy of George III and his subservient ministers, which alienated the affection of the American colonies.

"The triumph of the cause of liberty in America was a trumpet call to its lovers everywhere and in winning freedom for themselves, your ancestors helped to win it for us also. They were Englishmen and appealed to English principles of liberty and justice in their uprising. And this appeal has been allowed, and their victory acclaimed by Englishmen throughout the world for many generations past.

"In honoring the great figure of Pitt today our thoughts are, in a small measure, and by way of gratitude and admiration for him, in the past; but in a greater measure they are turned to the present and the future.

"There are now no hereditary misunderstandings, or lingering jealousies or antagonism, between the British and the American people.

"Our mission to America and, to your splendid city of Pittsburgh, is to bring a message of comradeship and fraternity, an assurance of good will and of our desire for every kind of cooperation between our two great nations.

"Our ceremony today reminds us that we have great memories in common. We too, have more recent memories of our common sacrifices to secure the victory of democracy

in arms against the oppressor.

"When we look, therefore, at this statue, let us remember how easy is our journey along the road which Pitt so well pointed out, and resolve that we will do all in our power to maintain the priceless boon of Anglo-American comradeship."

Governor Sproul in his speech lauded Pennsylvania for its keystone part in every great American crisis, and said that of all the vast tonnage of munitions which went forward in the world war, Pennsylvania contributed eighty per cent and Allegheny County sixty per cent.

He declared that the State of Pennsylvania and the city of Pittsburgh are honored in two monuments that are everlasting—the name given the former in honor of its founder, William Penn, and the latter the name of William Pitt. Had the advice of the latter been heeded, said the Governor, many struggles in the state and Allegheny County might have been avoided in after years. Such gatherings as that of the day, he said, serve to better relations between nations, creating a clearer understanding and knowledge, each for and of the other, and by that bringing a boon to all mankind.

The relationship between the United States and Canada, the speaker said, with a frontier of several thousands of miles unguarded and unfortified is the sort of relationship which should prevail among all nations. The Governor spoke in glowing words of the part Canada had taken in the World War, and with a touch of pathos mentioned the large proportion of the population which enlisted in the service and who made the supreme sacrifice on the field of battle.

Mayor William A. Magee said in part: "The gift which we are receiving today is one which the people of Pittsburgh will appreciate to the full. It symbolizes the relationship of our community to one of the outstanding figures of the history of modern times. We are proud of our name.

"The possession of the strategic, military and economic point at the headwaters of the Ohio River was the cause of the great Seven Year's war, the only war previous to the last war, that was waged on a nation-wide scale.

"The decision of arms at this place hastened the growth of democratic ideals by perhaps generations if not centuries.

"Our great patron saint, the outstanding figure of his time, was foremost in support of popular government. The American nation was his child.

"We are proud in being known to the world by his name. We are, in physical embodiment, his commemoration, This statue will remain in this building, the seat of our municipal government, a silent witness, constantly reminding those who follow after us not only of the glorious days which were the fruit of his deep wisdom and boundless energy, but of much more still, the enduring effect upon the lives of untold millions of people determined by the events that transpired here more than 160 years ago."

In introducing the speakers Chairman Stephenson made the following remarks:

"The tie that binds the English speaking people together is the history of their achievements in the civilization of the world.

"Our gathering here today is signalized by an appropriateness of time as well as of location and above all of purpose. That purpose is to forge another link in the strong and unbroken chain of friendship that has for more than a century united the English speaking peoples,—Britons and Americans,—common descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race and equal heirs to its great constitutional principles and traditions.

"For near here and within sight of the windows of the graceful tower, which rises to my right over the temple of justice, is the point where Fort Duquesne stood and where Fort Pitt arose, the final possession of which decided the destiny of the vast territory lying between the Alleghanies and the Rockies and made sure the creation of this great nation.

"Upon the exact spot where we are now standing just 164 years ago today, one of the notable conflicts waged for the possession of the Forks of the Ohio was fought.

"Here on the 14th of September 1758, Major James Grant, a British officer with about 600 Highlanders and about 200 Pennsylvanians and Virginians fought a losing battle with the French Canadians and Indians.

"British and American blood was shed in a common cause. This battle was the culmination of French success and power in a struggle which finally resulted in the raising of the British flag over Fort Pitt, which thus assured the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race in North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico.

"Added to the appropriateness of the time and location of this great gathering is that its special object is the reception of a lifelike and artistic bust of the great English statesman, a true and courageous friend of America, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, whose name this great city of ours appropriately bears.

"It is he who thundered in the English Parliament, 'We may bind the Colonists trade, confine their manufacturers and exercise every power whatever except taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.'

"He also said, 'Adopt more gentle methods in dealing with America for the day is not far distant when America may vie with this Kingdom not only in arms but in arts.'

"On May 30th, 1777 he said, 'You may ravage, you cannot conquer. It is impossible, you cannot conquer the Americans,' and from that day, one hundred and forty-five years ago to this day, the Star Spangled Banner has never been lowered to a foreign enemy.

"The donor of this bust of the Peerless Statesman William Pitt, is a distinguished Englishman who has the honor of being the chief executive of the great English metropolis, London.

"But this bust of the foremost English advocate of freedom and constitutional rights will not stand here alone as an evidence that we remember and revere the memory of William Pitt. It can be truly said, 'If you seek his monument look around.'

"George Bancroft, the historian, wrote, 'Pittsburgh is the most enduring monument of William Pitt. As long as the Monongahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, as long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West.'

"Our honored guest, Sir Charles Wakefield, with Lady Wakefield and friends, has journeyed across the Atlantic to present under the auspices of the Sulgrave Institution his gift to the city of Pittsburgh, this bust of the great friend of America so that his features may be constantly before us and also to inspire us with the high and lofty purpose of fostering a fraternal spirit and good feeling between the English speaking people of America and Great Britain.

"This great audience is a credit to the memory of William Pitt and an expression of gratitude to the distinguished Englishman for this beautiful lifelike bust of William Pitt which will now be unveiled by the donor's daughter, Miss Freda Wakefield."

The bust was then unveiled by Miss Freda Wakefield, daughter of the donor. Following the ceremony there was a luncheon at the William Penn Hotel, then the party was taken to the Block House, where they were met by a reception committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution. From there, the visitors proceeded to the Carnegie Institute, where they were received by the President, Samuel H. Church, Mrs. Church and officials of the Institute.

In the evening, there was a dinner at the Pittsburgh Golf Club presided over by Samuel H. Church, after which the visitors departed for Washington, D. C.

(Article furnished the editor by the Chairman of the Publication Committee of this Magazine)

SOME ASPECTS OF PITTSBURGH'S INDUSTRIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CIVIL WAR.

Pittsburgh as an industrial and commercial center is today universally known. Its position among the cities of the United States is unique. As a manufacturing center it is more noted since the products particularly of the steel mills are shipped to all parts of the world. Such epithets as "Smoky City," "Steel City" and the "Birmingham of America" bear witness to the fact.

The above could not be said of Pittsburgh prior to the Civil War. At that time it was known as the "key to the west," being the appropriate name given by those hardy, restless pioneers, who were tired of eastern aristocracy and desired to found a better home in the democratic west. Still, the position of Pittsburgh as the "key to the west" remains, but far different is her present position as such. It is no longer a pathway whereby settlers can enter the virgin forest and field of the west, but on the other hand is a point where many other cities buy their supplies.

At the time when the Southern States were seriously contemplating secession, Pittsburgh would seem (to the average man of today) to be in a precarious position. It had been accustomed to ship coal, iron, agricultural implements, and other products to the South. It would have been, therefore, not unnatural for its inhabitants and business men to at least sympathize with the seceding states. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth.

Immediately after the election of Lincoln, the Southern States started on a period of gigantic seizure of government property. This began with the seizure of forts and arsenals, which were located within the boundaries of the dissatisfied states. Then, with many southern states-rightsmen in the cabinet of President Buchanan, much ordnance and other munitions of war were shipped south. This was particularly true of the Secretary of War, Floyd. Mainly

Paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on May 31, 1922.

through his efforts several northern arsenals were relieved of much of their supplies, which were ordered south. Among the victims of such an order was the Allegheny Arsenal, located at Lawrenceville. An order was received by Major Symington, officer in charge of the arsenal, to ship one hundred twenty-pound guns to New Orleans, destined for Texas. The order was received on December 23, 1860. (1) The moment this order became known to the people much excitement resulted. A petition, signed by a number of influential citizens was sent to the mayor requesting him to call a public meeting, for the purpose of preventing the removal of the guns.

The Commander-in-Charge of the arsenal failed to give a satisfactory answer as to the destination of the guns. As a result, a meeting was called for the 27th of December; where a committee composed of Messrs. Wilkins, Shaler, Robinson and Williams read an order addressed to President Buchanan. (2) Excitement ran high. After passing a few resolutions expressing indignation and injustice at the removal of guns, the meeting adjourned.

Excitement went a pitch higher when General Moorhead received an answer to his telegram sent to Edwin M. Stanton, Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, to the effect that the shipment of the guns was to be prevented. (3) A contract had been made with the "Silver Wave" to carry the guns to New Orleans, (4) and the guns were being hauled to the wharf, when the above answer was received. Plans were prepared for the forceful prevention of the removal of the guns, when the Floyd order was countermanded, January 3, (5) and further trouble was avoided. These happenings clearly show that Pittsburgh was anything but in favor of secession.

As has been stated before, Pittsburgh was considered the "key to the west." It would, therefore, be of great value to ascertain Pittsburgh's efforts in helping to withstand the Confederate attack in the west and its contributions to this end.

In this respect the spotlight is turned on Ellet's Ram Fleet, which was a part of the Mississippi Flotilla. It was the object of the flotilla to co-operate with the land forces

under Grant. It was Ellet's purpose to repulse the rebel ironclads around Memphis, Island No. 10, and other southern strongholds. (6)

With this end in view Ellet purchased five of the nine boats, which were to constitute his fleet, at Pittsburgh. These were the Lioness, Sampson and Mingo, "three powerful Ohio river stern-wheel tow boats" and the Fulton and Homer, "two small stern-wheel tow-boats, as tender and dispatch boat for the fleet." (7) In addition to these, one battery barge was also purchased here. Ellet in making his report to Commodore Foote, refers to the Pittsburgh tugs as "three of the strongest and swiftest stern-wheel coal tow-boats." (8)

These were obtained as a result of instructions from Secretary of War, Stanton, March 27, 1862, which ordered Ellet to proceed immediately to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and New Albany and take measures to provide steam rams for defense against ironclad vessels in western waters. (9)

To see that Ellet's motive and Stanton's purpose were realized we need only to study the engagements of the Ram Fleet. At Memphis and Vicksburg it did memorable work, but more noteworthy was its engagement up the Yazoo where Farragut and Grant profited as a result. (10)

When the North proclaimed the blockade of the southern ports, ironclad vessels had not as yet made their appearance in the Navy. It was not until August 3, 1861, that Congress made provision for the investigation and construction of ironclad steamships or steam-batteries. (11) As a result of this act, three ironclad vessels were recommended to be built. Seventeen proposals were submitted to the board appointed by the Secretary of the Navy. Of these only three were accepted, being those of J. Ericson, New York; Merrick & Sons, Philadelphia; and C. S. Bushnell & Co., New Haven, Connecticut.

J. Ericson, as is commonly known, built the Monitor, which won that ever famous engagement with the Merrimac in Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862. This resulted in an increased number of orders for ironclads. Almost immediately after the contest, the government issued orders for ten Monitor type batteries. (12)

Pittsburgh also profited indirectly by the Monitor-Merrimac engagement. A contract was awarded Mason and Snowden in 1861, for the construction of a Monitor type boat. The specifications were somewhat different from those under which J. Ericson worked. This boat which was christened the Manayunk, was not launched until December 18, 1864. The cost was approximately $583,000. (13)

Though only a third class Monitor, it was nevertheless four times the size of the original Monitor, being 224 feet long, 33 feet wide and drawing 14 feet with a tonnage of 1034. (14) Thurston in refering to it says: "This vessel was pronounced by good naval authority as a most admirable boat, in all respects safe to sail around the world." (15)

Another boat of the same type which was also built by Mason and Snowden was the Umpqua. It was contracted for in 1863 and completed in September, 1866 at a cost of $595,652.66. (16) Being intended for river service it was somewhat lighter than its mate, the Manayunk. Its revolving turret—commonly known as "Cheese Box," was 9 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, being armed with an "eleven inch gun and one 150 pounder." On the other hand the turret of the Manayunk was 21 feet inside and somewhat stronger armed with two 15 inch guns. (17)

In addition to these two monitors two other smaller ironclads were built during the Civil War by Pittsburgh firms. Hartupee and Tomlinson was the fortunate firm in this case. The contract was awarded to them in 1862 although the boats were not launched until January 1865. These monitors were named the Marietta and Sandusky and were produced at a cost of $470,179.14. (18)

The production cost of these war vessels may seem trivial if viewed by present day standards, but two things must be taken into consideration: first, that the iron-ship was then in its infancy, and second, that the superdreadnaught was not even a dream.

Nor was Pittsburgh's naval energy entirely devoted to the building of ironclads, for in the field of deck plating and iron armor its position was prominent. Bailey, Brown and Co., produced half the iron plate for the Kensington, a mill-

ion dollar ironclad under construction at Philadelphia in the year 1862. (19)

Two other million dollar ironclads, the Meantonomah, and Tonawanda, were covered with Pittsburgh armor plate. The former was built in New York by the Novelty Iron Works and the latter in Philadelphia by the firm of Merrick and Sons. (20) The plating for these vessels was furnished by the firm of M. K. Moorehead and G. F. McClave at a cost of $222,000.40. (21)

Pittsburgh also furnished one half of the armor plate for the Ironsides, an $800,000 vessel, under construction at Philadelphia. (22) On this subject the Gazette says: "It may not be generally known that the immense iron plate for the new iron plated steamships now being built at Philadelphia by Messrs. Merrick & Son. for the government, are being manufactured in this city at the works of Messrs. Bailey, Brown & Co. The plates are 15 feet long, 28½ and 30½ inches wide and four inches thick." (23) Newspapers of Pennsylvania at that time made frequent note of the fact that Pittsburgh forges could turn out sufficient armor plates to cover every vessel in the navy.

Prior to the construction of Ericson's Monitor, the officials of the Navy Department doubted the ability of American foundries to produce plating of the 4½ inch thickness. However true the basis for their statements may have been, later facts did not support their contention. So great was the demand for iron plate that during the year 1863, in Pittsburgh alone, many rolling mills were constructed. Among these were Messrs. Lyon & Shorb, the Messrs. McKnight and Messrs. Reese, Graff and Dull. The newly constructed mill of the Messrs. McKnight had a capacity of 50 tons of armor plate per week, while Messrs. Reese, Graff and Dull's plate mill had a capacity of 100 tons per week. The plate mills were constructed for the purpose of rolling armor plate for naval use, 10 feet long, 1 to 1½ inches thick, and weighing from 1600 pounds to a ton each. (24)

Pittsburgh's industrial ingenuity and energy did not limit itself to naval construction but made a more enviable record in the manufacture of immense engines of war. In

the ordnance department, Pittsburgh's position is especially prominent. For these facts it is best to state the history of the Fort Pitt Foundry.

This industrial plant was established in 1803 and continued in existence until about 1870. It was originally located at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Smithfield Street where the Park Building now stands. During the Civil War it was located at 28th Street in Allegheny.

To it belongs the honor of supplying our government with ordnance for three wars: the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Civil War. Even Perry's famous victory on Lake Erie was aided materially by the service of Pittsburgh cannon cast at this Foundry. (25) However as the Civil War concerns us most, let us turn our attention toward its contributions to the Union Forces.

Among the productions of the Fort Pitt Foundry, the big guns must receive primary consideration. The first of these, the 'Union' was a twelve inch rifled cannon, weighing 26 tons. It was completed in the latter part of May 1861 and shipped on the 31st, (26) destined for Fort McHenry. On reaching its destination it was favorably tested, much to the dismay of the troublesome Baltimoreans. A correspondent who was an eye witness of the official test wrote: "Some idea of the range of this immense missile may be formed from the fact that it fired the huge ball (of 500 lbs.) six miles. The effect was tremendous—shells were thrown through the long sand bank; the force of the firing shook the ground as no other gun has ever done before." (27) At the time this was considered the largest cannon in the world. (28) Though a subject of much comment at the time, many guns similar to the 'Union' were turned out during the period of the War. In all the Fort Pitt Foundry furnished to our government one thousand one hundred ninety-three guns, during the period ending June 30, 1865. This lot included 8, 10 and 12 inch siege mortars, 4½ inch rifled cannon, 8 and 10 inch howitzers, and 8, 10, 12, 15 inch columbiads and 20 inch "Rodmans." The total value of these contributions was approximately $1,600.000.(29)

We are prone to underestimate the value and number of guns, if no comparison is made with the total purchased

at that time. For the entire period of the war, our government purchased seven thousand, seven hundred thirty-one cannons, mortars and columbiads. (30) In other words the Fort Pitt Foundry alone furnished 15% of the entire amount of large ordinance purchased by the government for use in the Civil War.

Among the ordnance furnished by the Fort Pitt Foundry there were seventy-three 15 inch Rodmans, the price of which was $485,500.00. This again may seem insignificant to us, who in the late war have been accustomed to billion dollar appropriations, but let us not forget that only eight 15 inch guns were purchased elsewhere, which clearly shows that the Fort Pitt furnished 80% of these big guns. (31)

At this point it would not be inappropriate to observe the position held by the Fort Pitt Foundry, both at home and at Washington. From the above data it is evident that there is much truth in the statement made by the *Gazette*, commenting upon the outbreak of a fire there: "It is here that all the big guns are cast for the government and the destruction of these works would be almost as disastrous as the loss of a battle." (32)

In his report for 1864, H. A. Wise, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance says: "The Fort Pitt Foundry, with its immense facilities and very great experience in the art of founding cannon, was at first the only establishment willing and able to undertake the task of making the 15 inch gun!" (33)

The Confederates had as their main support in the manufacture of guns, the Tredegar Iron Works, Richmond. Its capacity was only two Dahlgren guns per week; this was greatly surpassed by that of the Fort Pitt Foundry, which produced twelve guns of the largest caliber per week. (34)

A product which excited much comment was the famous 20 inch Rodman gun. The first one, as would naturally be expected, was cast at the Fort Pitt Foundry on Feb. 12, 1864, at a cost of $32,000. (35) It was cast in the presence of many distinguished men, including Major Rodman, the inventor of the principle. The *Gazette* described the cast-

ing as "one of the greatest feats in iron founding yet achieved."

In ascertaining the facts in the greatest feat in iron founding yet achieved, it is seen that 80 tons of molten metal were required. The gun was cast hollow, and the core was kept cool by a constant stream of cold water passing through it. In the finished state it weighed 56 tons, being 20 feet long over all, (the bore being 18 feet long.) The maximum diameter was 64 inches, minimum, 34 inches. (36) It fired a 1000 pound ball from a 750 pound shell, charged with 100 pounds of powder.

This gun was also at its time the largest gun in the world; with the exception of the stone throwing bronze gun at the Dardanelles. (36)

This gun had a great moral effect upon the enemy. It seemed, however, that those firing the gun were in greater danger than those fired upon. This was due no doubt to the imperfect and somewhat primitive method of casting. That this is true can be inferred from the fact that very few such guns were cast.

The first order for shells purchased in this district by the government also came from Fort Pitt, and consisted of 440-8 inch shot and 812-8 inch columbiad shells. (37) The first contract for projectiles was also made with the Fort Pitt Foundry on April 25, 1866, for one thousand 8 inch columbiad shells and five hundred 8 inch balls of reduced caliber. (28)

From April 9, 1861, to the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1863,the Fort Pitt Foundry furnished 33,071 cannon balls, shells and other projectiles valued at something like $100,000. But the record for the production of the greatest number for the period belongs to Smith, Park & Co., who furnished 196,320 projectiles valued at $92,000. Among the firms which furnished projectiles were Anderson & Phillips, Pennock, Hart & Co., and J. C. Bidwell of the Pittsburgh Plow Works. These collectively furnished 29,537 projectiles valued at $103,085. (39) These figures, large as they are, however, do not mean much to us until we discover that they represent 10% of all projectiles purchased by the

Government during the period from the beginning of the Rebellion to June 30, 1863. (40)

From June 30, 1863, to June 30, 1865, the Fort Pitt Foundry has the record for the largest number of projectiles. For this period it sold to the Government 161,000 projectiles at a cost of $104,719. Smith, Park & Co., sold during the same period 110,645 projectiles at a price of $88.-721. Pennock & Totten furnished 5,527 projectiles at a cost of $7,636. Joseph Pennock furnished 28,260 projectiles at a cost of $61,526. (41) On consulting the *House Executive Documents* it is seen that during this final two year period the Pittsburgh firms again furnished 10% of all projectiles purchased by the Government. (42)

The Fort Pitt Foundry is a subject of both pride and value to Pittsburgh. As has been stated before in this paper, it contributed greatly to our Government in surmounting the difficulties of the various wars, and its last service was in helping to save the Union.

Further enlargement is necessary before the full force of this view is realized. From available records it has been found that the Fort Pitt Foundry furnished more ordnance than any other firm with the exception of the Colt Patent Firearms Co., Hartford, Conn., and Robert P. Parrott, Cold Spring, N. Y. Among the strong competitors were E. Remington & Son of Ilion, N. Y., Savage Arms Co., of Middleton, Conn., and Sharps Rifle Arms Co., of Hartford, Conn. (43) The sad part connected with this is that the Fort Pitt Foundry left no successors in the firearms field while its competitors are to-day internationally known.

Pittsburgh did its part in providing comfort for the Union boys by furnishing 19,778 blankets and 37,893 articles of clothing as well as 675 tents for the first of the war. (44)

From the *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle* of September 11, 1861, we glean this item, "Four thousand sets of harness have been contracted here. Each set will harness a four mule team. About two thousand sets are now ready for delivery and the balance will be put through with the least possible delay."

It is to be regretted and lamented that records on this subject are sadly inadequate and have for the most part been destroyed as "useless documents." (45)

However, in the *Rebellion Record of Allegheny County for* 1861 *and* 1862, we find that "No provision having been made either in this city or Harrisburg, by the authorities, in 1861, for uniforming the three month volunteers, the men demurred from going until they were suitably clothed. B. F. Jones, Esq., assumed the task of equipping one company and depositing his check for $3000 ordered the clothing to be furnished, and set about collecting the amount to reimburse himself. Over $13,000 were collected in a day or two, and with this ten companies were uniformed." (45) The material furnished consisted of uniforms, undergarments, overcoats, caps and blankets, and was furnished by the following firms: Morganstern and Brother, Louis Kiehnieson, J. M. Little, J. C. Watt, A Frowenfield and Brother, and C. H. Paulson. Of the companies outfitted, the Duquesne Greys and the Washington Infantry still survive as active military organizations.

In addition to this local contribution, Pittsburgh firms supplied the Government with 871 wagons furnished for the most part by Phelps, Parke & Co., and Mr. Aeschelman, (46) and the *Gazette* of September 12, 1861, says, "We learn that Mr. J. C. Bidwell, proprietor of the Pittsburgh Plow Works has received a contract from the government for the construction of fifty-four heavy gun-carriages."

Pittsburgh's splendid relief work, which unfortunately is not in the province of this paper, was aided indirectly, by the manufacture of 35 ambulances which were supplied to the government.

To keep the fires of industry burning, something like 5,500,000 tons of the famous Pittsburgh coal were mined during the Civil War. This was 423,000 tons more than for any preceding period of similar duration. (47) To transport the Civil War tonnage of coal in this district would require 75 miles of barges.

Though only a dim perspective of the industrial contribution of Pittsburgh has been obtained, still this is enough

to show that Pittsburgh with a population of only about 50,000 (48) contributed largely to the success of the Northern cause and further that there was great sincerity and unity of purpose among its citizens in their enthusiastic support of this cause.

Louis Vaira.

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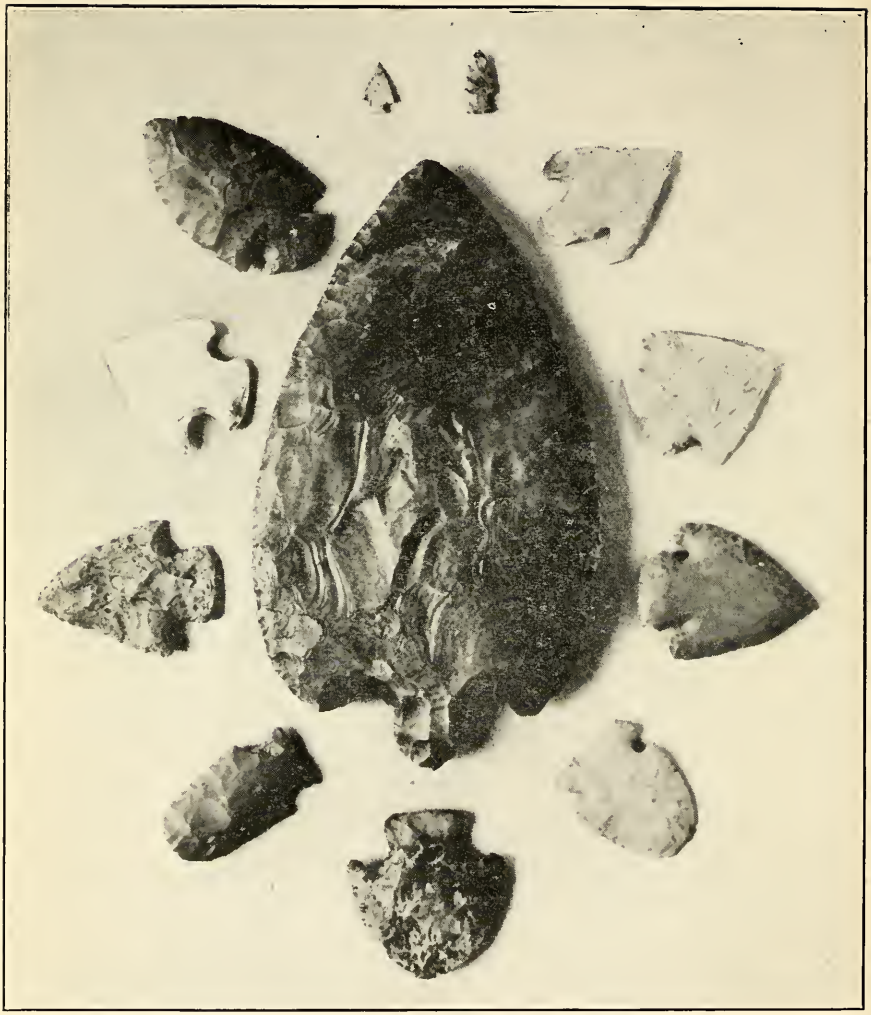


FLINT, JASPER AND CHALCEDONY ARROW POINTS

L. R. Lane Collection, State Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The Archaeology and Early History of the Allegheny River.

Very little has been written concerning the archaeology of the region along the Allegheny River. One reason for this lack of material relating to this most historic field of investigation is because there has never been any real scientific work done in it, and very little has been done to collect and to study the archaeological material which has been found in it.

It is very strange that such should be the case, as this river valley has seen more changes in the early aboriginal occupation than any other valley in the state.

The author, in a recent number of *Pittsburgh First* gave a sketch of the various Indian peoples who have lived along the course of this stream. Among these are the Akansea, the Cherokee, the Erie, the Black Minquas and the historic Seneca, Delaware and Shawnee. — There would, therefore be mingled the cultures of the Siouian, the Iroquoian and the Algonkian groups.

There is some reason for thinking that the earliest occupation of this region, like the greater part of Pennsylvania and New York, was Algonkian. The very oldest types of cultural remains and the most badly weathered which the author has seen, belong to this prehistoric Algonkian culture. Next comes the Iroquoian, including the Cherokee, Erie and Seneca. The last cultural remains are those of the historic period, when the Seneca, the Delaware and Shawnee came into this region.

The State Museum has recently purchased, through the Historical Commission, a most unique collection of Indian artifacts which were collected by L. R. Lane, of Freeport, along the Allegheny River between Oil City and Pittsburgh. Mr. Lane spent his spare time during a period of 40 years in gathering these fine specimens—which are now in the State Museum. This collection is of real value as Mr. Lane remembers where he found each one of the large artifacts.

Among the artifacts are many beautifully made arrow points of flint, jasper and chalcedony. Some of these are Iroquian, but the majority are Algonkian. There is a very finely made ceremonial knife of blue flint which measures 6¾ inches in length by 3¾ inches in width. A large stone ax, or celt, which was found near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas is 6½ by 5½ inches. But, probably the rarest specimens in this collection are three flint fish-hooks, which were found at the mouth of Bear Creek in Armstrong County, about one mile south of Parker City. Mr. Lane found these when excavating for a pump station for the Standard Oil Company. These fish-hooks measure ¾, 7/8, 1 and 1½ inches in length. They are without question genuine and are the only genuine flint fish-hooks which I have ever seen from the Allegheny River Valley. The collection covers the Allegheny River Valley from Oil City to Pittsburgh. Some of them were found at Bear Creek, Bradys Bend, Poketas Creek, Sugar Creek, and at various places along these streams.

Nearly all of the Indian villages which are mentioned in the early records belong to the historic period. None of them were very old and all of them were occupied after the Indians had fire-arms. The stone and flint artifacts found along the Allegheny are of very fine workmanship and belong to the period when the river was occupied by the ancestors of the Cherokee, who were called Alligewe in the early traditions, and after whom the Allegheny River was named. There is a very striking resemblance between the finely chipped arrow and spear points found on the Allegheny and those found in the southern region occupied by the Cherokee.

The earliest written record of the Indian villages on the Allegheny river is that which is contained in the "Account of the voyage on the Beautiful river made in 1749 under the direction of Monsieur de Celoron. by Father Bonnecamp."

In this account, which is given in "The Jesuit Relations", Vol LXIX, pages 150-199, an Iroquois village, called "Kananouangon", is the first one mentioned as being situated on the Allegheny. It was at the mouth of the Cone-

FLINT FISH-HOOKS

FLINT POINTS

L. R. Lane Collection, State Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

wango river, just above the site of the present city of Warren. Another village which Bonnecamps mentions as "La paille coupe," was at the mouth of Broken Straw Creek, near the site of the present Irvineton. The English name of the Creek is a translation of the French name of the village as given by Bonnecamps. The name given to this village by the early English traders was Buckaloon. This may be a corruption of the Delaware name, Poquihhilleu, which signifies "broken". The Iroquois name of the village, Koshanaudeago, is given by Ellicott and Howell on their maps of 1787 and 1792.

The deserted village of Arigues, mentioned in this account, is the village of Kittanning. The "l'ancian village des chouanons" was probably Chartiers Old Town, and "un village de loups" was probably Shannopins Town. Bonnecamps mentions Chiningue, which was the village known to the English as Logstown. He says of this village, "The village of Chiningue is quite new; it is hardly more than five or six years since it was established. The savages who live there are almost all Iroquois; they count about sixty warriors. The English there were ten in number, and one among them was their chief."

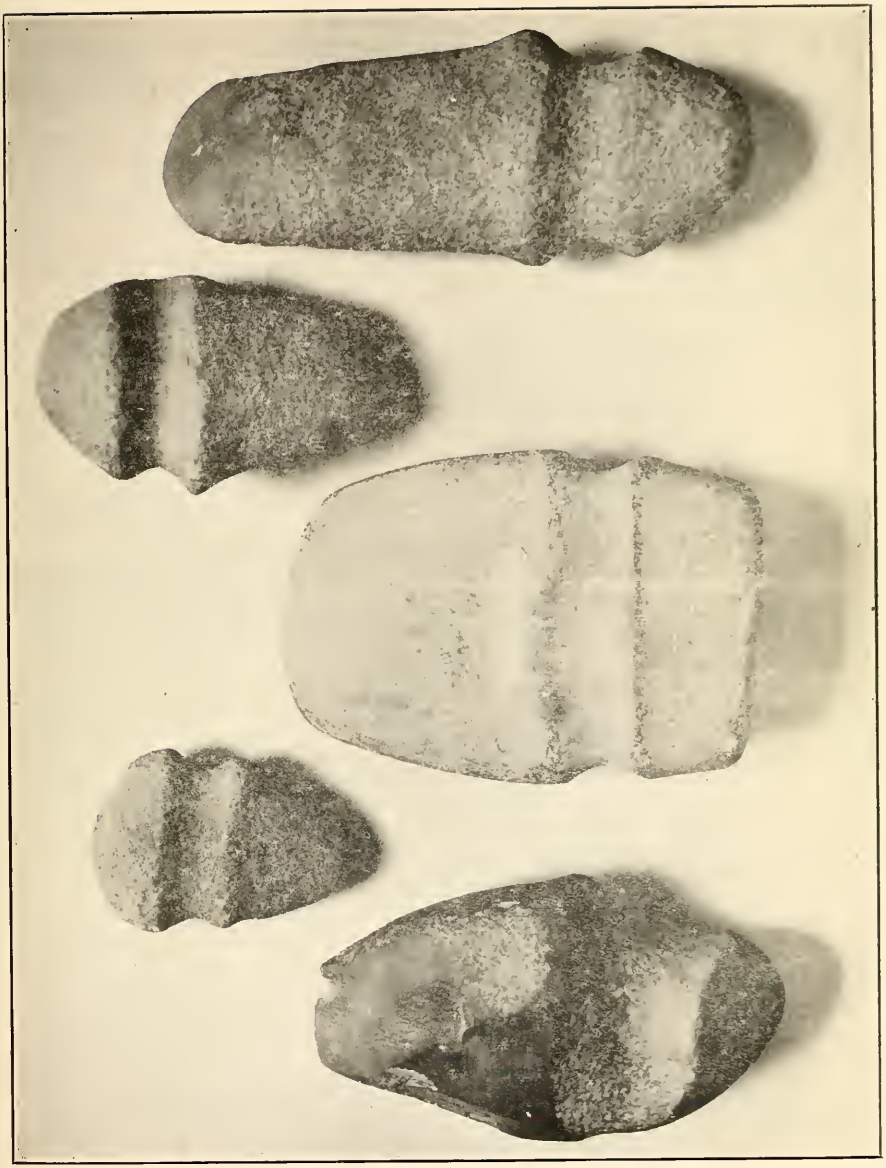
The map of Lewis Evans, 1755, notes the number of Indian villages on the Allegheny. Among these are Buxaloons, which is the same as Bonnecamp's La Paille Coupee; Kuskusdatening, which is the village called Goshgoshing by Zeisberger. This was the first Moravian Mission on the Allegheny and was established by Zeisberger in 1767, near the present Tionesta. It was here that Zeisberger was brought into contact with the chiefs from the Beaver river, at whose invitation he removed to the site which was later known as Friedensstadt.

The Evans map also notes Wenango, the Venango of the Colonial Records, at the site of Franklin; Kittaning, Chartier Old Town, Sewickleys Old Town, Shannoppins Towns, Loggs Town, Shingoes Town and Kiskushkes. The location of these historic Indian villages is so well known that it is not necessary to give them more extended notice. All of them belong to the period following the migration of

the Delaware, and Shawnee from the Susquehanna, from 1727 to 1755.

The historic occupation of the upper Ohio and Allegheny was of short duration, not more than twenty-five years. Previous to that period there was a time when there were no permanent villages in the region. Before that period, when Western Pennsylvania was the hunting ground of the Iroquois, was the period when the Akansea, the Erie, the Black Minquas, the Cherokee and probably the Shawnee occupied it. This period has left no written records. No explorer or Jesuit Missionary has left a "Journal", telling of the villages or the people who occupied them. This record is written only in stone and flint artifacts made by the people who once lived along the Beautiful river. To try to read this record is the work of archaeologists. It seems rather strange that this rich field of investigation has been so sadly neglected. Pennsylvania was a center of migration back as far as we can trace the path-way of the aboriginal Indian. And yet when we reach such a recent period as 1700, we begin to walk in the mystery of tradition when we reach the shores of the Ohio River. More is known of the Aztec and Inca culture of a thousand years ago than of the culture of the upper Ohio of three hundred years ago.

Geo. P. Donehoo.



STONE AXES

L. R. Lane Collection, State Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Western Pennsylvania and the Election of 1860.

Pennsylvania, previous to 1860, had been a strong Democratic State and had come under the sway of Buchanan, who had controlled Pennsylvania politics in the years preceding. From the election of Jackson, in 1828, until the election of Lincoln, Pennsylvania, with one or two exceptions, had been mainly Democratic. But now, in 1860, had come a great political revolution, for instead of giving the Democrats a majority, as had been the case, Pennsylvania gave Curtin the surprising majority of 32,084, (1) and Lincoln a majority of 56,673 over the combined votes of his three competitors. (2) This large a majority surprised even the Republicans themselves. (3) In this election, furthermore, the Democrats received such a setback that they have never recovered the strength and prominence that they enjoyed previously. Now, such a revolution must have had some strong cause back of it, and it is the purpose of this paper to discuss why and how this change came about.

It was early recognized that Pennsylvania was to be the battle ground of the campaign. If Lincoln was to be elected, he had to have the support of all the Northern States. Especial significance was attached to Pennsylvania since she was to elect a governor in October. As early as November first, 1859, Lincoln wrote to W. E. Frazer, "It is certainly important to secure Pennsylvania for the Republicans in the next presidential contest", (4) and throughout the ensuing campaign, this idea was stressed. (5) The *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette* of August 21st, 1860 said, "The great fight of November is to be settled in Pennsylvania by the preliminary fight in October. If we elect Curtin, ... the election of Lincoln will be settled; if we lose Curtin, ... the fight in November will be close and doubtful." (6) "As Pennsylvania goes, so goes the Union." (7) The *Pittsburgh Post* said, "Circumstances point to the old Keystone, a State which must decide the pending Presidential contest." (8)

*Paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania May 31, 1922.

The campaign preliminaries in Pennsylvania started in January, when the friends of Simon Cameron started to mention him as a candidate for the Presidency. His name was rapidly taken up and great enthusiasm was manifested for him in the Opposition Press. The *Washington Reporter* said, "The union of the opposition forces so essential to success in the coming Presidential struggle could best be secured by the nomination of either Bates, Cameron or Dayton" (9) and the Republicans of Fayette (10) and Mercer Counties instructed their delegates to the State Convention to "support all measures calculated to secure the nomination of Simon Cameron at the Chicago Convention." (11) Lincoln himself was not adverse to supporting Cameron, if he was nominated, for he said, "If the Republicans of the great State of Pennsylvania shall present Mr. Cameron as their candidate for the Presidency, such an indorsement for his fitness for the place could scarcely be deemed insufficient." (12) At the State Convention, "The enthusiasm for Senator Cameron was unbounded, carrying all before it, and overshadowing the claims of all his distinguished competitors" (13) and by a vote of 127 to 4, (14) the delegates to the Republican National Convention were "instructed to cast their votes for Hon. Simon Cameron while his name remained before that body." (15) Accordingly, Cameron's name was presented to the National Convention at Chicago, and on the first ballot he received 47 ½ votes out of the 53 cast by Pennsylvania. However, it was thoroughly understood that Pennsylvania's first vote was merely a "complimentary vote for a favored son" (16) and did not determine how she would vote in the remaining ballots. On the second and third ballots, Cameron's name having been withdrawn, (17) most of Pennsylvania's votes were thrown to Lincoln so that on the third and deciding ballot, Pennsylvania gave Lincoln 52 votes out of 54 cast. (18) The same evening her delegation brought on the platform a banner bearing the inscription, "Pennsylvania is good for 20,000 majority for the Peoples candidate for President." (19) Pennsylvania, and especially Cameron, had much to do with the nomination of Lincoln and particularly with the defeat of Seward. This state, as has been said above, was debatable ground and it

was admitted that if she was ignored in the nomination the Republican party would have to do without her at the election. (20) It was the determined position of the doubtful states, and especially Pennsylvania, which prevented the nomination of Seward for the delegates from these States said they could not carry their home States for Seward. (21) In Pennsylvania, Seward was opposed on account of his radical views in regard to slavery and also on account of his opposition to the American Party, to which most of the Republicans of this State had belonged.

The news of Lincoln's nomination was received in Allegheny County and the neighboring Counties with "joyful and enthusiastic acclamation on the part of the Republicans." (22) In Pittsburgh, cannon were discharged from Boyd's Hill and flags were flung to the breeze. (23) In Washington, "A large and enthusiastic meeting convened in the Court House to ratify the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin" (24) and although the notice of the meeting was short and there was a heavy rain, the Court Room was filled. (24) Cameron, the political boss of the State, "made an excellent speech. . . . . endorsing the nominations of Lincoln and Hamlin in a most cordial and emphatic manner." (25) Practically all the Opposition journals in the State favored Lincoln and, on this point, the *Gazette* said, "There are at least 150 Opposition journals in Pennsylvania, and of these, two, or at most three, support the Baltimore nominations", (26) the rest favoring Lincoln.

Meanwhile, the Democrats had held their convention at Charleston, which resulted in the withdrawal of the radical element of the South. (27) The Democrats of Western Pennsylvania were practically a unit in desiring Douglas, for we find the *Post* remarking, just before the delegates left for the second National Convention, "It is idle for the delegates from Western Pennsylvania, who are now about to go to the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, to pretend that they do not understand the wishes of the people whom they represent, in regard to the Presidential nomination. Too often and in too many ways the people have spoken out for Douglas to leave any doubt that he is their choice." (28) After the permanent split, the *Post* claimed that Douglas

was the regular nominee of the National Democratic Party, saying, "The Senator from Illinois was nominated fairly and honorably, according to every Conventional rule and usage of the party," (29) and "There is—there can be—but one candidate of the National Democratic organization, and that candidate is Stephen A. Douglas. . . . The agents of the people at the Baltimore convention nominated Mr. Douglas; from that day it was a closed question." (30)

The main issues of the campaign, it seems, were (1) tariff, (2) slavery in the territories and (3) sectionalism. The first of these, the tariff question, played an important role in the election. Pennsylvania at this time was just recovering from the Panic of 1857, which had crippled the industrial interests of the State to a large extent. As the tariff then in effect was a low Democratic tariff, it was decided that the remedy was a high protective tariff, which the "people considered essential to their prosperity." (31) The demand in this State for a protective tariff led to the introduction of a tariff plank in the Republican Platform of Chicago. (32) The Republicans, seeing their opportunity, took a strong stand on the matter of a high tariff, (33) saying that protection was "one of the cardinal purposes of the national government," (34) "one of the cardinal doctrines in their creed" (35) and citing Curtin as a life-long advocate of protection. (36) The Democrats, realizing the importance of the tariff question, also came out strongly for a protective tariff, (37) although they were somewhat handicapped by the fact that the National Democracy was for free trade or a low tariff and also by the fact that the Panic of 1857 had occurred under a Democratic Administration and tariff. (38) Both parties had tariff planks in their county and state platforms. (39)

Another important issue was that of extension of slavery. The Republican Party was fundamentally an anti-slavery party and as such received support in the other Northern States. Although in Pennsylvania the tariff was a vital issue, especially in the manufacturing districts such as Allegheny County, yet slavery was of some importance. But in their opposition to slavery, it must be remembered that the Republicans did not assume as radical a stand as

did the Abolitionists. They were willing that slavery should remain in the Slave States but they were opposed to its extension in the territories. (40) The two main arguments of the Republicans against slavery were: first, the unconstitutionality of slavery, and second, the effect of the spread of slavery upon free labor.

As to the unconstitutionality of slavery in the Territories, the Republicans declared emphatically that the Constitution did not recognize slavery and called attention to the fact that the revolutionary fathers "excluded the words 'slave' and 'slavery' from the Constitution and that Madison said he thought it wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man," (41) and that their "policy. . . . was to make the national domain all free." (41) The Republican State Convention, in an Address to the People of Pennsylvania said "That the dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries Slavery into all or any of the territories of the United States, is a new and dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of the instrument itself, with its contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, that it is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the people." (42) The *Lincoln Herald*, quoted by the *Gazette*, said, "The Constitution of the United States does not establish or prohibit slavery. Slavery is an institution growing out of State laws and cannot exist beyond the limits of such State. The natural condition of all Territories is freedom, and should be kept free." (43) The Republicans said further, "With the Constitutionally guaranteed rights of the Slave States, they have not and never will intermeddle. . . . . Where slavery is under the Constitution they will never enter to disturbe it or meddle with the existing relations of master and slave. But when the question of new states arise, when the virgin soil of broad land is to be subdivided into new confederacies, then the Republican Party claim to be heard in behalf of Freedom, and will not be slow to enter its solemn protest against the desecration of one other foot of free soil to the barbarous and anti-Christian institution of slavery. Hands off

where slavery now exists under the Constitution, ... but no more slave States." (44)

The other argument of the Republicans against the spread of slavery, namely, that of the effect upon free labor, had much more influence than the one just mentioned. The Democrats, especially those of the South, were working for the spread of slavery into the territories and, with the aid of the Dred Scott decision, for the spread of slavery into the free States. The Republicans made much of this fact to appeal to the working men of the manufacturing districts. The Republicans in 1854 had lost Pennsylvania on an anti-slavery platform, showing that the slavery issue was not very strong. (45) But now it was brought nearer home by showing the effect that slavery would have upon the laboring class of Western Pennsylvania. Blaine showed the importance of this issue very plainly when he said, "The moment the hostility to slave-labor in the territories became identified with protected labor in Pennsylvania, the (Republican) Party was inspired with new hopes, received indeed a new life." (46) The *Gazette* made good use of statements expressed by Southern leaders and Papers regarding slavery and the working class, such as: "We believe capital should own labor," from a speech made by H. V. Johnson, the running mate of Douglas; "The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon difference of complexion. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of white men in bondage," from the *Richmond Enquirer*; and "Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. . . . Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child, and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. The theory of free government is a delusion," from the *Charleston Mercury*. (47) The *Gazette* used these quotations with great effect. They showed the laborer the danger he would encounter in working in competition with slaves, and also showed him that in the end he would probably become a slave himself or, if not a slave, a "poor white." The *Gazette* remarked further "It is remarkable that Southern Senators, in speaking of poor men and working men, invariably speak

of them in opprobious terms. Sen. Hammond called them 'the mudsills of human society;' Mr. Wigfall denounced them as 'criminals' and declared poverty to be a crime; and here comes Mr. Green who stigmatizes them as 'poor, infamous scoundrels' and 'lazzaroni.' There is no discrimination — no exception. Every man who is poor and compelled to work for a living is, in the eyes of these aristocrats, infamous and base from the very fact of being poor. And these men are Democrats — leaders in the Democratic Party — its advocates and oracles." (48) Edgar A. Cowan, in a speech in Pittsburgh on Sept. 26, said, "I am not asking you to liberate the slaves — I am no abolitionist; it is the poor white men we want to liberate, first," (49) and Carl Schurz condensed the Republican stand as follows: "To man — his birthright; To Labor — freedom; To him that wants to Labor—work and independence; To him that works — his dues." (50) The Republicans made so much use of this argument that they were enabled to say, towards the end of the campaign, "The real and true issue between the two great parties which underlies all the struggles and strife, is, whether the power of government shall be exerted to protect free white labor or black slave labor. Divested of the shams and deceptions, that is the whole contest when narrowed down to its practical point." (51) Now, with this argument of protected white labor and the argument of protection to the industries, we can see that the Republicans would have a great hold upon the people of the Pittsburgh district.

The Douglas Democrats in Western Pennsylvania took a middle stand on the slavery question, advocating "popular sovereignty" and "non-intervention by Congress." The Democratic State Convention states their stand very well in the following resolutions: "Resolved, That we deprecate the continued agitation of the slavery question in Congress and among the people in the different sections of the Union, believing, as we do, that it tends to weaken the bondage of our common union — to excite animosities and create heartburnings between the members of the same great family, and can accomplish no possible good. Resolved, That we continue firm in the opinion that Congress has no power to

legislate on the subject of slavery in the States, nor would it be expedient for Congress to establish it in any territory, nor to exclude it therefrom. Resolved, That the question of the right of the citizen to hold his slaves in the Territories of the United States is a judicial, and not a legislative question, and its decision is committed exclusively to the courts." (52) Johnson, the candidate for the Vice-presidency, devoted the whole of his speech in Pittsburgh to the question of slavery and non-intervention by Congress. (53) The *Post* says "The Democrats, at least in the North, are not slavery propagandists. Where slavery exists, they are willing to defend it from all interference of outside aggressions. They are willing that the people of new territories and new states shall decide for themselves whether the institution shall exist within their borders or not." (54) The Democrats also accused the Republicans of being Abolitionists, saying that "The great object of every Democrat in the present campaign should be to defeat the Abolition Candidate Lincoln," (55) and the *Washington Review* condemned Lincoln several times for being an Abolitionist. (56)

The third great issue of the campaign, which was used mainly by the Democrats, is that of sectionalism. The Republicans, of course, were strictly a Northern Party, there being no Republicans in the South. The *Post* says, "The prominent candidates are Lincoln and Douglas. The one represents Sectionalism—the other Nationalism," (57) and a little later sums up the situation thus, "The Republicans are trying to elect a President for the North. The Bolters are trying to elect a President for the South. The National Democracy are trying to elect a President for the whole Union." (58) The Republicans denied the charge of sectionalism saying that they "indignantly hurl back in the teeth of its utterers the foul imputation of *sectionalism* and *one ideaism* so flippantly imputed to them by the subsidized press of the Democracy, and boldly assert their just claims to be considered the broad comprehensive national party of the Country." (59) The *Post* also professed to see a connection between Republican Sectionalism and Southern threats of disunion, for it said, "The very foundation of the

Republican party of the North is a mad fanaticism which has brought the country to the verge of destruction. It is the principles of Republicanism openly avowed by its leaders as the issue of the campaign, which have aroused in the South those fierce disunion sentiments. . . . .Northern fanaticism has bred Southern Disunionism." (60) A variation of the sectionalism argument used by the Democrats was that the aggression of the Republicans was leading to the severance of the commercial relations between the North and the South. The Democratic County Convention at Pittsburgh approved the following resolution: "Resolved, That we . . . . . disapprove of all attempts to alienate the South from the North, by interference with Southern institutions, because such interference leads to a breaking up of the international trade between the citizens of the several States, a trade which has been a source of vast profit to Pennsylvania and because an interruption of that trade must seriously interfere with the market for the great staples of our commerce, ... that give employment to thousands, that confer wealth and prosperity upon our cities, and secure a market for the produce of the farmer." (61) The *Post* said, prior to the meeting of the Convention, " Already the business men of the North begin to feel the influence of the present political estrangement from the South. The natural effect of such aggression as the North is making upon the South is to destroy the business relations between the two sections. . . . . The Southern people are quietly but firmly making their arrangements to cut off their business intercourse with the North. They are forming among themselves non-intercourse compacts and are directing their trade as far as possible away from the Northern manufacturers and business men." (62)

Although the Democrats were of one mind in their purpose of defeating the Abolitionist candidate "Lincoln," they were nevertheless engaged in a family quarrel. Buchanan, the Democratic political boss, supported the Southern Democrats both before and after the Democratic Conventions, thinking that the road to power lay through the South. (63) The majority of the Democrats of the State, however, favored Douglas. Buchanan brought to bear all

the power possible to secure the State for Breckenridge, but failed. The main struggle between the two factions was in regard to the Democratic State electors. The electors had been named at the State Convention at Reading before the National party had split. The question now arose, Whom shall the electors vote for in case the Democrats carried Pennsylvania, Douglas or Breckenridge? It was clearly seen that, if the Democrats expected to carry the State in both elections, they must present a united front (64) and accordingly, all efforts were made to do this. At a meeting of the State Central Committee held in Philadelphia early in July, "Mr. Welsh's compromise plan to have but one electoral ticket, unpledged to either, but to cast its vote, if elected, for the Democratic candidate most likely to be successful, was . . . . . adopted." (65) This plan was denounced by the people and the press as an "infamous proposition." (66) The *Post* said that it was willing to support a single electoral ticket but maintained that the decision as to whom the electors should vote for should be left to the people and not to the State committee or to any future contingencies which the people cannot control as they wish. (67) Richard Vaux, the head of the Electoral ticket also refused to approve of this compromise. (68) The Douglas faction, at a convention at Harrisburg, likewise opposed this attempt at coalition and further resolved to demand that the State Committee should rescind this action and come out for Douglas, at their Cresson meeting of August 9th, 1860. (69) At the Cresson meeting, the State Committee "resolved on a Fusion ticket, headed by the names Douglas and Breckenridge, the vote of the electors to go to the one who has the highest number of votes in the State." (70) The *Post* approved of this plan, saying, "The first object now is success, and to do this, we must have a united and harmonious organization, as against the common enemy. . . . . We shall sustain the action of the Committee at Cresson, because it is the only way we see to preserve the integrity of the State organization under present circumstances," (71) and "We are for it, because it will elect Mr. Foster, Governor, and preserve our good old Democratic party a unit." (72) Some of the more radical Douglas men, however, objected to this

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compromise and "kicked out of the traces." (73) The Douglas State Executive Committee, on the 15th of August, resolved to place a "clear Douglas electoral ticket" (74) in the field. (75) The *Post* "as the friend of Mr. Douglas, and an ardent desirer of his success" condemned the movement, (74) and said further, "No true friend of Douglas can, with any consistency, favor this Harrisburg movement. It is, in fact, a Bolter's ticket." (74) This ticket, however, was withdrawn on October 18th, (75) enabling the Democrats to present a united front in the Presidential election.

In the October election for Governor, Curtin, the Republican candidate, carried the State with a vote of 262,396 to 230,312 for Foster. The result in Allegheny and the surrounding counties was as follows: (77)

County	Curtin	Foster
Allegheny	15,879	9,190
Westmoreland	4,830	5,276
Butler	3,526	2,548
Beaver	2,682	1,717
Washington	4,768	4,206

In the Presidential election in November, Lincoln carried the State with a vote of 268,030 as compared with 178,871 for the Fusion Ticket, 16,677 for the Douglas Straight ticket and 12,809 for the Union Party. The result by counties was as follows: (78)

County	Lincoln	Fusion	Douglas	Bell
Allegheny	16,725	6,725	523	570
Westmoreland	4,887	4,796	13	13
Butler	3,640	2,332	13	22
Beaver	2,824	1,620	4	58
Washington	4,724	3,975	8	91

An examination of these figures reveals that in the industrial centers, such as Allegheny County, where the main issue was tariff and protected free labor, the Republican majority was large, whereas in the agricultural counties, where the issue was the extension of slavery, the vote was nearly even. It would appear that the result of the October election influenced somewhat the November election in as much as we find that in almost every case, the Republican vote was larger and the Democratic correspondingly small-

er. This is possibly due to the natural desire of those who had no decided opinions, to be on the winning side. Westmoreland County, which went Democratic in the State election by a majority of about 450, owing no doubt to the fact that it was Foster's home County, gave the Republicans a majority of 90 votes in the Presidential election.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize these two facts: first, that the success of the Republicans in Western Pennsylvania was due largely to their strong stand on the questions of tariff, protected free labor and non extension of slavery, and in part to the split in the Democratic Party; second, that the success of the Republicans in Pennsylvania contributed in a marked degree to their success throughout the Nation.

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15. Ibid., Mar. 1, 1860.
16. Rhodes, J. F. *History of the United States*, II, 459.
17. *Gazette*, May 19, 1860.
18. Ibid., May 21, 1860.
19. Ibid., May 19, 1860.
20. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1860.
21. Ibid., May 31, 1860.
22. Ibid., May 19, 1860.
23. Ibid., May 19, 1860.
24. The *Washington Reporter*, May 24, 1860.
25. *Gazette*, May 28, 1860.
26. Ibid., June 5, 1860. also May 28, 1860.
27. The *Washington Review*, a Democratic paper, favored this withdrawal. It says, on May 10, "The temporary secession of the fire eating disunion school of politicians . . . .promises nothing but good results . . . . We believe we are stronger to-day in the South without the aid of Yancy and Co."

28. *Post*, June 15, 1860.
29. June, 25, 1860.
30. July 6, 1860.
31. *Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1860.
32. Blaine, J. G., *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 206.
33. Blaine, op. cit., I, 205f.
34. Platform of Allegheny County Republican Convention, *Post*, Jan. 5, 1860.
35. *Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1860.
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40. *Reporter*, Jan. 8, 1860; Address to the People of Pennsylvania by the Republican State Convention, *Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1860; Speech Mr. Armor in Pittsburgh, *Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1860; *Gazette*, Feb. 22, 1860.
41. *Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1860.
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52. *Post*, March 5, 1860; see also *Gazette*, Mar. 3, 1860.
53. *Post*, Sept. 25, 1860.
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58. Nov. 2, 1860.
59. *Gazette*, Feb. 22, 1860.
60. June 30, 1860.
61. *Post*, Jan. 26, 1860.
62. Jan. 10. 1860.
63. *Gazette*, July 3, 1860.
64. Ibid., July 11, 1860, quoting the *Greensburg Argus*.
65. *Gazette*, July 6, 1860.
66. Ibid. July 11, 1860, quoting the *Greensburg Argus*.
67. July, 16, 1860.
68. *Gazette*, July 13, 1860.
69. Ibid., July 28, 1860.
70. Ibid., Aug. 11, 1860.
71. Aug. 11, 1860.
72. Sept. 3, 1860.
73. *Chronicle*, Aug. 16, 1860.

74. *Post*, Aug. 17, 1860.
75. *Gazette*, Aug. 17 and 20, 1860; *Post*, Aug. 17. 1860.
76. *Post*, Oct. 20, 1860.
77 Official returns, *Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1860.
The result in the other counties of Western Pennsylvania was as follows:

County	Curtin	Foster
Fayette	3,382	3,556
Greene	1,529	2,669
Somerset	2,977	1,372
Indiana	3,672	1,886
Armstrong	3,474	2,698
Lawrence	2,645	959
Mercer	3,624	2,794
Venango	2,581	2,142
Clarion	1,795	2,297
Crawford	5,277	3,178
Erie	5,613	2,469
Warren	2,112	1,172

78. Official returns, *Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1860.
The result in the other counties was as follows:

County	Lincoln	Fusion	Douglas	Bell
Fayette	3,454	3,308	24	147
Greene	1,614	2,665	26	17
Somerset	3,218	1,175	--	1
Indiana	3,910	1,347	--	22
Armstrong	3,355	2,108	--	50
Lawrence	2,937	788	16	31
Mercer	3,855	2,546	2	49
Venango	2,680	1,932	6	6
Clarion	1,829	2,078	--	12
Crawford	5,779	2,961	62	--
Erie	6,160	2,531	17	90
Warren	2,284	1,087	4	--

The Attitude of the Pittsburgh Newspapers Toward the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

In writing the paper, all quotations from the newspapers have not been given for the reason that at times all the journals duplicated their stories. However, all the details of interest and importance have been carefully recorded, and it is proper to call attention to the fact that, while at times the sentences are not as smooth as they might be, they are nevertheless, exact quotations from the newspapers of that period. The quotations from the German newspapers are necessarily loose translations, but the original meaning has not been changed.

Douglas' name was sometimes spelled "Douglass", but we have accepted the modern spelling, and used it throughout the paper.

The Kansas Nebraska strife, which agitated the entire country during the first half of the year 1854, is discussed at length in the various Pittsburgh newspapers of that period. (*)

At times, various issues of local or national opinion, flooded the papers, and the Kansas-Nebraska issue was lost sight of, but never for a long period. It is interesting to note the conflict between the local editors, and to note the personal attacks which often creep into the editorials.

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*The sources sought in writing this paper, are as follows: The *Evening Chronicle;* The *Pittsburgh Gazette*; The *Pittsburgh Post,* and the German paper, *Freiheits Freund.* There were several other newspapers published in Pittsburgh during this period, but they are not on file at the Central Library. There is a complete copy of *The Iron City,* but inasmuch as it was edited by Barr & McDonald, the editors of the *Chronicle,* I found that the editorial opinions were the same, and so did not include that paper in this research.

The first article is in the *Gazette*, written by one Junius, who was a Washington correspondent for this journal. On January 10th, he writes: "The bill and the report from the committee on territories must be a signal for the reopening of the slavery agitation. They (the slaveholders) never cease from aggressions; they are as treacherous, crafty and dishonest, in policy, as they are bold and unscrupulous in action." Several days later, this same man writes: "I always regarded the Missouri Compromise as a cheat and a fraud, but slavery has had the benefit of it, and now, after the lapse of 35 years, on the very first occasion that the North demands the performance of the conditions in her favor, the bill is to be repealed. To state such a proposition is to cover with infamy all who advocate it." Later, (Jan. 16), he says: "We admire their spunk and indomitable energy; three slave states in one year is doing a pretty fair business. Nebraska will come in, polluted with slavery, if the South can induce slaveholders to go there, which is doubtful. The North and the Electoral College will put itself out of breath, to catch the runaway negroes from their Southern masters, as a testimony of her fidelity to the Compromises of the Constitution."

On January 18th, the *Post*, which during the entire controversy, until the final passage of the bill, rarely mentions the matter in its editorial columns, carries this notice under "Congressional": "Mr. Douglas gave notice that he would, on Monday, take up the Nebraska Bill. Mr. Sumner read an amendment, which he gave notice he would offer to the Nebraska Bill, providing for exclusion of slavery."

Two days later, Junius writes: "Douglas' Nebraska enormity has emboldened the slavery propagandists, in Congress, and today, Dixon of Kentucky, a bigot of the first water on that question, submitted a resolution, repealing the Missouri Compromise in express terms. This need excite no surprise. No exhibition of treachery, craft or audacity, ought to surprise the country after what has happened during the past five years. Dixon's resolution is no worse than Douglas' bill, which accomplishes under a covert and sneaking pretense, the same thing." The next day, Junius writes: "Dixon's bill is an amendment to the Nebraska Ter-

ritorial bill, and as such, is a rather bolder sample of treachery and political rascality, than if offered by itself."

On January 26, Junius says: "The Committee on Territories is about to report a bill which divides the territory embraced in Douglas' bill, into two states. Slavery is rampant, pugnacious and extortionate." Several days later, anent a meeting which was to be held in Pittsburgh, to protest this bill, the *Gazette* says: "We hope that there will be a meeting in Pittsburgh, which will do honor to the city, and to the cause of freedom and the country." Speaking of this meeting, the *Post*, which was Democratic in views, says: "The meeting was largely attended by Whigs, Free Soilers and a few Democrats." On the last of the month, however, there is a touch of wrath, in the tone of the *Post*: "In speaking of the bill introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Douglas to organize the territory of Nebraska, the *Tribune* draws largely on the billingsgate vocabulary, for terms to express its wrath against all Congressmen." The article is headed "The Rascals at Washington."

The *Gazette*, is the first paper to admit that the bill has a very good chance of passing. On February 1st, it contains this article: "For our part, we think that the bill will go through the Senate, and through the House, if the administration insists on it. Nothing can stop it, but a terrible storm of indignation in the north." Remarking on Douglas' speech in the Senate the next day, this same paper states that: "Mr. Douglas' speech was insolent and bullying in its tone, coarse in its invective, and contemptible in its argument. The answers of Messrs. Chase and Sumner were firm and determined, but dignified." According to the *Freiheits Freund*, this opinion is prevalent: "Since the country is at peace, and the parties have nothing to do, the politicians had to stir up agitation; hence the Nebraska Bill. Douglas has his eye on the Presidency, and is playing his cards accordingly. But the little giant is no longer a little giant. The South will praise him, nourish him—but what else?"

We find that the controversy is particularly fierce during the month of February. We can't help but have

respect for the editor of the *Post*, who passes up many chances to pick quarrels with the other editors of the city, and we can well censure the editor of the *Gazette*, who is always begging for yet a little more time to air the matter. An excerpt from the paper, (Feb. 3), will make this clearer: "The people are beginning to awake. If they have but time, to become fully aroused, Douglas' bill may yet be defeated."

Here is a quotation from one of the few editorials in the *Post*: "That man must be blind, who does not see in advance, that it must triumph. The very certain effect of its enactment upon the future of the slavery question as a national issue, also operates to incline towards it, moderate legislators who are tired of the interminable ding-dong on Abolitionism, in the Halls of Congress. They favor it, to the end of ridding the national councils of that worse than useless nuisance." (Feb. 4.)

The *Chronicle* of the same date gives what seems a plausible excuse for the silence of the Democratic *Post*: "There appear to be but a few Democratic papers, throughout the entire country, at all disposed to break cover on the infamous proposition thrown out by Senator Douglas. The reason why the Democratic press of the North is so quiet upon the diabolical plot, is not entirely unaccountable. There never was an administration which dispensed with equal prodigality, fat living to editors of Democratic journals, or so cunningly subdivided its patronage among those not otherwise provided for."

On the seventh day of the month, we find a little tilt between the editors of the *Gazette* and the *Post*. As a rule, the *Chronicle*, while Whig in its feelings, took a rap at both of these journals.

Several days later, (Feb. 8), the *Gazette* issues this warning: "Look out, Slavery! Having broken your solemn contracts, be prepared to see the North laugh to scorn your prating about checks and balances and compromises. No faith will be kept with traitors." The very next day, the *Post* carries this article: "The *Gazette* is mad. Were it left to us, we would repeal forty Missouri Compromises, if by so doing the dangerous and worse than useless slavery

discussions could be excluded from the Halls of the National Legislature. Nor do we dread the oft repeated lie, that all who are opposed to slavery agitation in Congress are friends of slavery."

As said before, time and time again we find the pitiful plea of the *Gazette*: "Only give the North time." And yet the North had as much time to work against the bill, as the South to work for it! The *Post* carries an article about this time, (Feb. 11), which is interesting: "That slavery can ever find a permanent footing in Nebraska, or Kansas, no intelligent man can believe. Slave labor can never be desirable or profitable in those regions. In California, much further South, the people decided the question for themselves, and resolved on the exclusion of slavery. Once settle the principle that the question of slavery shall be decided by the people of each state and territory, and the agitators occupation is gone."

The German paper, on the same day, breaks away from the controversy over the papal nuncio, who was in this country at this time, long enough to say that "slavery is a misfortune for the entire country, and wretched enough, without opening up new territory for it." Junius appears on the scene at the same time, and we quote him: "The abominations of the Nebraska bill have actually sickened me, and for the last two days I have been hardly able to hold a pen. I may say with the hymnist,

'Sin revived,
And I died.' "

During the next few days, (Feb. 13 and 14), the various Whig journalists take a dig at Senator Douglas. The *Chronicle* says: "The Spoilation Bill of Mr. Douglas is working its way through the Senate with commendable alacrity. Mr. Douglas may succeed, but his death knell is already sounding. The high office his ambition pants for, will be given hereafter by the millions of the North, and not by the Thousands of the South." The *Freiheits Freund* also says: "We hope that Mr. Douglas will overreach himself, and that he will fall, and that with him will go the Nebraska bill. A strong opposition is forming in the North, which the Little Giant will be unable to break."

Seward delivered his great speech against the bill on the 18th, and in the issues of the 20th and 21st, the *Gazette* simply bubbles over in its praises of him. The *Post* does not even carry an editorial comment on the speech, but the *Chronicle* says: "The *Gazette* is head over heels in the Nebraska movement, and contains this morning, a great part of Senator Seward's speech." It isn't until four days later, that the *Post* says in two lines: "Mr. Sumner delivered a speech against the Nebraska bill. And the *Gazette* covered most of its front page with the speech!"

On the 1st and 5th of March, the *Post* quotes Everett, the Whig candidate for the Presidency: "I believe that it is admitted that there is no material interest at stake. A domestic servant may be taken there, (Nebraska), a few laborers, but it will never be a slave state." On March 4th, the *Chronicle* announces the passage of the Bill as follows: "This bill of abominations has passed the Senate finally, by a vote of more than three to one; the hopes of the country now rest with the House. Freemen, Watch, and Pray!"

About this time, the German paper again appears to take an interest in the situation, and publishes speeches of protest against the bill.

In its issue of March 11th, the *Gazette* sounds rather optimistic: "There is a lull in the storm at Washington, on the Nebraska Bill. It is not yet reported to the House, and the opposing forces can marshal their strength." On the same date, the *Freiheits Freund* carries an editorial, in which it appeals to the German citizens to go to Nebraska, and thus make it a Northern community. From now on, the editorials in this paper are reprints of New York journals, and hence lose their interest for us.

On the 15th of this month, a little local spice was injected into the question, and all three papers took a hand. The *Gazette* called a meeting of all local clergy, to protest the bill, and the response was immediate. The *Chronicle* comes out with this article: "Anti-Nebraska Meeting of Clergy." "The above notice is prominently displayed this morning, in the Protestant organ, the *Gazette*. We, being perfectly sound on the Nebraska question, may escape the charge of impertinence, by dissenting, in toto, to any such

demonstration. The clergy overstep their function, when the border of the political arena is penetrated." The *Post* says: "The *Gazette* says that not one of the clergymen of this city has refused to sign the Anti-Nebraska remonstrance. That is not true. Several have refused. There are some few clergy in Pittsburgh, who choose to abide by the sacredness of their calling, and not undertake to regulate political affairs." Of course, this incident does not have a direct bearing on the question at hand, but it throws a sidelight on the manner in which the various journals took a slap at each other. The other papers promptly forget the matter, but the *Gazette* continues to talk about it, and as late as the 30th, we find this: "As to the disinterestedness and respectability of the demonstration made by the Ministers of the Gospel, it must be equal in that respect to the uproar of the officeholders in favor of it."

During the month of April, the papers carry little on the subject. The *Gazette* carries an occasional notice of a ministerial meeting in some part of the country, held to protest against the bill. The German paper takes a shot at the Southern German organs, which are upholding the Nebraska Bill. In the latter part of the month, our old friend Junius crops up again, and he tells us that: "Mr. Benton made a powerful, caustic and witty speech against the Nebraska swindle. I venture to say that within a month, the organ of the administration will deny that it ever approved of the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise."

In the next month, May, the storm breaks out with renewed vigor, and up to the passage of the bill in the two bodies, the *Gazette* and the *Chronicle* carry many articles about it. In an editorial of the 6th, Junius portrays what has happened during the past three years, since the discussion of slavery has been so violent, and he predicts that if the bill is passed, that it will eventually lead to a rupture between the two sections. The *Post*, several days later, announces that "there is now a strong prospect that the Nebraska Bill will pass the House of Representatives, as it came from the Senate, except that the Clayton amendment will be stricken out." On the same day, (May 12), the *Gazette* carries this editorial: "The Outrage is to be con-

summated. Our own impression is that the administration has secured by coaxing, threats and bribery, a sufficient number of the wavering and doubtful, to carry the measure through, and that they will proceed in the most summary fashion."

On the 16th, the *Gazette* announces with glee: "The Administration organs, who are so anxious for the triumph of slavery in the Nebraska bill, are overwhelmingly indignant at the course of the Anti-Nebraska members in Congress, in resorting to revolutionary methods to prevent the passage of that monstrosity. Baffled men may be allowed to vent their spleen. Let the conspirators rave!" On the next day, the same paper, on its editorial page, gave the names of the Pennsylvania members in Congress, who had voted for the taking up of the bill. The names were blocked in, with heavy black lines, and the column was headed "The Roll of Infamy."

On the 17th, the *Post* carries a few lines, stating that an Anti-Nebraska meeting, which was to be held in New York City, had turned out to be a failure. The same day, the *Chronicle* states, that in its opinion, Douglas' bill would pass. On the 20th, the *Gazette* carried a two-column editorial, entitled, "The Tremendous Designs of Slavery."

On May 24, all the papers carry the news of the passage of the bill. We will quote all of them:

The *Gazette*:. "The deed is done! The astonishing perfidy of the free states of the Union has been consummated by the aid of forty-four traitors to the rights, interests and honor of the North. But are the people powerless? Have they no remedy? Thank God they have the means of redress in their own hands. All that is wanting, is the spirit and the patriotism to use the power they possess. Let the cry of REPEAL be sounded. Let us do this, and the Southern slaveholders will live to curse the day that they stooped to such pliant tools as Pierce, Douglas & Co."

The *Freiheits Freund*: "The Little Giant Triumphs. Sad must be the heart of every friend of this country, when he sees this unfortunate mass rule, as nothing else than a perpetuation of the stain on the republic—negro slavery!"

The *Chronicle*: "The deed is Consummated. The Neb-

raska-Kansas, Douglas "niggerhead" treason has been consummated by a Pierce Congress. The black flag is unfurled. The South waves it in triumph, and will not cease to flap its folds in the faces of Northern Dough-faces."

The *Post*: "Two more free territories are thus organized, that in a very short time will contain a sufficient population to entitle them to admission as states of the Union. And as free states they will come, as free as Illinois, Indiana, Ohio; as large and fruitful, and in no long time as populous and wealthy."

On the 27th, while all the other papers carried columns about the "infamy," the *Post* says: "The Nebraska Bill has passed the Senate, as it went from the House of Representatives, by a vote of 35 yeas, to 13 nays. Immediately after the passage of the Nebraska Bill, a salute of 100 guns began firing from Capitol Hill." Two days later, it carries this short, but sarcastic item, headed "Nebraska Grief!" "The Church bells were tolled for an hour at sunset, last evening, on account of the passage of the Nebraska Bill."

On the 30th, the *Freiheits Freund* has an editorial, which tells of the fierce opposition in the North, to the bill. It says that the North is now fully aroused, and then ends up with these words: "Too late!"

Beginning the 30th, and up through the 5th of June, the *Gazette* carries articles both on the front page and in the editorial page, about "this outrage." On the 31st, it states: "The North has been robbed, insulted, outraged in the most tender point, and dough-face editors tell us that it is all a humbug, and that Pierce, Douglas & Co., and the editor of the *Post* are not in favor of the extension of slavery. Oh no, of course not. They are ardent lovers of freedom, and opposed to slavery. Strange that anybody should doubt it." Under the same date, the *Post*, in a three-fourths column editorial, says: "We like not slavery, but we like good old-fashioned democracy, and we hope all its principles will be maintained and universally applied."

On the 5th of June, the editor of the *Post* takes his innings for all the insults that he has taken in the past five months, and he rubs it in on the Whigs, and the editor of the *Gazette* in particular. In a long editorial, he asserts:

"That editor (of the *Gazette*) knows that his clamor against the Nebraska Bill is a false alarm, a humbug got up to deceive the people, and drive them into the ranks of Abolitionism. He knows that the bill, as it passed, is far more favorable to the North than to the South, and that slavery will never exist in those territories. How long will the people be deceived?"

The next day, there is a full column editorial, entitled: "Why They Hate It." It follows, in part: "The Kansas-Nebraska bill, which has now become a law, has excited the wrath of the Whigs and Abolitionists beyond measure. Why do they oppose it so fiercely? It has created an irreconcilable breach in their party, and utterly destroyed it for national influence. Agitators by profession, they find that slavery is driven out of the Halls of Congress; hence their impotent cry of "Repeal." It is their only chance for continued agitation. The Nebraska Bill does not favor slavery. It favors freedom, and will soon add two new free states to the confederacy."

The last article appears in the *Post*, on the 11th of June. It is a copy of the law in full, with no editorial comment.

A paper such as this, would indeed be incomplete, if the writer did not state his reactions to the various views expressed by the several newspapers. One cannot help but sympathize with the editor of the *Post*, for inasmuch as that journal was an administration paper, it had to choose its words carefully. But the question is bound to rise: "How were the readers of the *Post* kept acquainted with the situation?" For when the bill was being discussed throughout the nation, the *Post* carried only a few meager lines about it. The editor, then, is open to the criticism that he surpressed real news, in attempting to shield the administration. However, it cannot be said that he did not have the situation well in hand, for when the bill was finally passed, the editor of the *Post* was able to effectively spike the guns of the other papers in the city. The editor of the *Gazette*, while casting reflections on Douglas, for "mudslinging", was himself guilty of the same offense, and at times his language appeared to be rather crude. The *Chronic-*

le said little on the subject, but whenever an editorial did appear, it was to the point. The editor of this paper took exception to the remarks of both the *Gazette* and the *Post*, but it seems that he had a higher regard for the *Post* than he did for the other journal.

From this survey of the Pittsburgh journals several conclusions are possible. In the first place it is safe to say that Pittsburgh like the rest of the country was intensely interested in the slavery question particularly in the matter of its possible extension in new territory. In the second place not even the Democrat paper favored the further extension of slavery. Much of the agitation appears to have been party politics. The moral evil of slavery gave the anti-Douglas papers excellent material for agitation. The doctrine of popular sovereignty, Douglas' "squater sovereignty" was the strongest and most natural political argument and platform of the Democrats and was fully adopted. But it would be wrong to underestimate the moral factor which is apparent in the meeting of the clergy, on March 15th. Finally that Pittsburgh was unfriendly to the institution of slavery is apparent not only from the attitude of the Democratic *Post* in 1854, but from the fact that with the outbreak of the Civil War seven years later, all the organs of the city combined in support of the Lincoln Administration, and in the prosecution of a war in which success on the part of the North would almost certainly put an end to the institution.

Don R. Kovar.

THE DESIRABILITY OF BOOK REVIEWS IN OUR MAGAZINE.

Many of our members and readers are heavily engaged in private or public affairs. Presumably it is a matter of difficulty for them to keep acquainted with even those books appearing in the somewhat narrow field of history in which the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is primarily interested. The magazine of the Society can be made to serve in the capacity of calling attention in a brief manner to books and articles bearing on Western Pennsylvania history.

In no other way probably can this service be better rendered than by printing from time to time brief and significant reviews throwing light on the contents, quality and importance of works which may be of great interest to us. At present this is widely done in historical magazines. Sometimes it is even carried to an excess. But this mistake is easily avoided and, with a somewhat strict limitation of such reviews to works in our special field, such a mistake on the part of our magazine is not likely to be made.

Those who read significant works evidently of interest to other members of the Society can render a share of the service sought by writing and submitting for publication a brief review. It is highly probable that such a service will be both beneficial and appreciated. The new editor, therefore, suggests the publication as far as possible in each issue of one or more such reviews and respectfully asks for co-operation and contributions.

The writing of critical book reviews is in itself an excellent thing for the reviewer. It is very often the first step in historical writing of greater significance. Many also who may not be equipped and cannot find time to write long manuscripts may be able to write excellent brief historical reviews. This does not mean that there is no technique in a book review. Information in regard to such technique is, however, easily obtained. Careful study of reviews in the great historical magazines will furnish no small part of the technique as well as give much insight into the character and importance of such reviews. Definite instructions in the technique of critical historical reviews will be furnished on written request.

The Editor.

Application of Veto Power by Abraham Lincoln.

One of the great outstanding characteristics of Abraham Lincoln was his cool calm judgement. He was never seen in an angry passion; he always displayed wisdom, and he never let his personal feeling dominate him. We find this just as true in his exercise of the veto power as in all the other duties peculiar to his office.

While the official documents record but three veto messages, his biographers tell of one that was not documented—the pocket veto of the Wade-Davis bill on reconstruction. (1) They also show how Lincoln's influence, as a rule, was felt in the matter of legislation. On one occasion a bill was about to pass its final reading when it became known that the President was prepared to veto it. It never reached him in the original form. Alterations were made and when it was carried to him he approved of it in the official way. (2)

It was not until June 23, 1862, that he disapproved of a piece of legislation, and it concerned the currency of the District of Columbia. The people of that district had petitioned Congress, through their representative, to repeal certain clauses in their currency bill. (3)

The bill known as (S193) was drafted and entitled:— "An act to repeal that part of an act of Congress that prohibited the circulation of bank notes of a less denomination than $5 in the District of Columbia." (4)

"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the second and sixth sections of an act entitled "an act to suppress the circulation of small notes as currency in the District of Columbia" approved December 27, 1854 be, and the same are hereby repealed: Provided, That the circulation or passing of bills of a less amount than one dollar, or bills of any denomination containing the fractional part of a dollar, shall still remain prohibited: And provided,

bills by any bank not otherwise legally authorized to issue them." (5)

President Lincoln based his objection on the last two clauses of the bill 1. He believed it impracticable because of a discrimination being made in the banks that would be permitted to issue them; 2, He believed that it would be unwise to give legal sanction to the circulation of irredeemable notes of one class only, for in time it would surely extend in practical operation to include all classes whether authorized or not. This would have a depreciating effect on the value of the currency of the District of Columbia and would prove injurious to both trade and labor. (6)

He reminded them of the law enacted by Congress in February of that year authorizing the circulation of Treasury notes. Under this new law the District of Columbia would be permitted to issue notes of a similar character but of a smaller denomination than $5. (7)

"Such an issue," said he, "would answer all the beneficial purposes of the bill, would save a considerable amount to the Treasury in interest, would greatly facilitate payments to soldiers and other creditors of small sums and would furnish to the people a currency as safe as their own government." (8)

Lincoln showed keen insight and rare judgment in the handling of this bill. No personal feeling entered in, it was purely a business matter that had to be handled in a scientific way to avoid future trouble.

The second bill he vetoed July 2, 1862. It was known as (S343) and bore the title:—"An act to provide for additional medical officers of volunteer services." (9)

"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, forty surgeons and one hundred twenty assistant surgeons of volunteers who shall have the rank, pay, and emoluments of officers of corresponding grades in the regular army: Provided, that no one shall be appointed to any position under this act unless he shall previously have been examined by a board of medical officers to be designated by the Secretary of War, and

that vacancies in the grade of surgeon shall be filled by selection from the grade of assistant surgeon on the ground of merit only: And provided, further, That this act shall continue in force only during the existence of the present rebellion. (10)

Sec. 2—And be it further enacted, That the office of brigade surgeon be and same is hereby abolished, and the officers of that corps shall be hereafter designated surgeons of volunteers and shall in all other respects be put on the same footing as to rank, pay, and emoluments with the surgeons provided for by the first section of this act." (11)

Sec. 3—And be it further enacted, That there shall be added to each volunteer regiment now in the service an assistant surgeon to be appointed according to the existing laws of several states providing for the appointment of regimental surgeons." (12)

This bill passed the Senate on June 11, 1862, and the House concurred June 13, 1862. (13) On July 2, President Lincoln returned it to the Senate, where it originated, without his signature, saying that he had already approved an act of the same title passed by Congress after the passage of the one first mentioned. The bill he referred to was for the purpose of correcting errors in and superseding the original. (14)

The President recognized the fact that the second bill embodied all that was asked for in the first, and that if he signed the one at hand it would be a superfluous law, to be placed upon the statutes.

On July 2, 1864, Mr. Stevens by unanimous consent introduced a joint resolution to correct errors in the internal act. It was known as H. Res. 123, was passed by the House and concurred by the Senate July 4, 1864. (15)

President Lincoln returned it at the beginning of the new session January 5, 1865 with the following message: (16) "My reason for returning is, that I am informed that the joint resolution was prepared during the last moments of the last session of Congress for the purpose of correcting certain errors of reference in the internal act which were discovered on examination of an official copy, procured from the Senate department a few hours only before adjourn-

ment. It passed the House and went to the Senate where a vote was taken upon it, but by some accident it was not presented to the President of the Senate for his signature. (17)

"Since the adjournment of the last session of Congress, other errors of a kind similar to those which this resolution was designed to correct have been discovered in the law, and it is now thought most expedient to include all the necessary corrections in one act or resolution. The attention of the proper committee of the House has, I am informed, been already directed to the preparation of a bill for this purpose." (18)

This message carried mild censure to the Congressmen because of their haste and carelessness in rushing through a piece of legislation that required more time to work out the technique.

The most bitter fight waged against him by Congress during his four years in the White House was over the great question of reconstruction. He never once acknowledged that another nation existed within our borders, and he realized what a humiliating situation confronted the secessionists. He believed the reconstruction policy must be one of great magnanimity. With this in mind, he issued a proclamation of amnesty December 8, 1863. (19) Some of the radicals headed by Davis and Wade vehemently claimed that Lincoln was usurping legislative power. It was not long before a new plan for reconstruction was put forward in the House of Representatives by H. W. Davis and championed in the Senate by B. Wade. (20)

It passed both houses and was carried to Lincoln who had gone to the Capitol to hurry matters. Much anxiety was felt as to how he would dispose of it for time was drawing to a close. Lincoln pocketed the bill. Rage and condemnation followed, but Lincoln was immovable. He believed some of the measures much too stringent to be the final word on reconstruction. (21)

Before the great perplexing problem could be settled Lincoln passed to the great beyond "with malice toward none and charity for all."

Anna Prenter.

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(1) Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 120, 121.
(2) Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VI, 102.
(3) *House Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 706.
(4) *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 734.
(5) *Senate Journal* 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 734.
(6) *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 734.
Richardson, *Messages & Papers of Presidents*, VI, 87-88.
(7) Nicholay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VI, 235.
(8) *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess. 37th Cong., p. 734.
(9) *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 746.
(10) *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 746.
(11) Ibid., p. 746.
(12) *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 746.
(13) *House Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 650, *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 713.
(14) Ibid., p. 746. Richardson, *Messages & Papers*, VI, 88.
(15) *House Journal*, 1st sess., 37th Cong., p. 751.
(16) *House Journal*, 2d. sess., 38th Cong., p. 80.
(17) *House Journal*, 2d. sess., 38th Cong., p. 80.
(18) *Senate Mis. Doc.*, 49th Cong., 2d. sess., No. 53.
(19) Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 104-108, Cox, S. S. *Three Decades*, pp. 337, 338.
(20) Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 112-119, Cox, S. S. *Three Decades*, Chap. XVII, pp. 339-345, *House & Senate Journals*, 38th, Cong., 1st sess.
(21) Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 120-124, Scott, E. G., *Reconstruction*, pp. 296-297., Cox, S. S., *Three Decades*, pp. 339-345., *House & Senate Journals*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVIII, Appendix No. 18, p. 744

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List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

225—A Gavel

Presented to Hon. John P. Penney, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Senate at the close of the deadlock session 1864.

Presented by his son, Col. John P. Penney.

226—A Gavel

Used by Governor William F. Johnston, Speaker of the Senate at Harrisburg, Penn'a. 1848.

Presented by his grandson,
Mr. George M. McCandless.

227—Communion Service

Used at the "Historic Old Beulah Presbyterian Church" during the pastorate of Rev. James Graham, 1804—1845.

Presented by his grand daughters
Miss Martha Graham,
Miss Martha Graham Johnston

228—Book of Marriage Records

by Rev. J. H. Hastings, of the Old Beulah Church, 1846.

229—Book

Minutes of the Beulah Church Congregation, and minutes of the Beulah Church Librarian.

230—Book

Reports of the Trustees of the Old Beulah Church 1827.

231—Book of Records

Duplicate of Pine Township
1801—1804—1805—1807

232—Book of Records

Duplicate of Pine Township
1809—1810—1811—1812
1814—1815—1816—1817

Presented by the late Miss Martha Graham.

233—Sun Dial

Belonging to the Lacky family, who lived one hundred years ago, on a farm below Sewickley, Pa.

Presented by Mrs. Rebecca A. Smith.

234—Iridescent Plate

A relic of the great Pittsburgh fire of 1845. This white china plate with several others were packed in straw, the burning of which has given it its radiance.

Presented by Mr. Charles A. Butler.

235—Old Grandfather's Clock

Owned by William Elliott of Callensburg, Clarion County, Pa. and bought by him at a vendue, in the early days, this clock has been traced back to 1747, it runs for 30 hours, its works are all wood, except the escapement wheel, the clock was procured by Dr. C. J. Reynolds, from Mr. Elliott's daughter, Mrs. Sall Frampton, in 1882.

Presented by Dr. C. J. Reynolds.

236—Old Keys

Used at the "Old Arsenal Buildings" between Penn Avenue and Butler Street.

September 17th, 1862 at 1:58 P. M. these buildings were destroyed by a powder explosion at the United States Arsenal grounds, in which seventy women and four boys were killed and many injured. This same day the battle of Antietam was fought.

Presented by Mr. P. W. Siebert.

237—Large Key

Used at the Old Court House in 1842.

Presented by Hon. William H. Graham.

238—Small Sword

Made from a piece of Cannon, which was presented by the United States to the Grand Army. It being a piece of ordnance that was stopped by the citizens of Pittsburgh from going south in 1860.

Presented by Mr. W. W. Smith.

239—Piece of Charter Oak

Presented by Mr. George B. Kelly.

240—Canteen

Used in the War of 1812.

Presented by Mrs. William B. Jones.

241—Seal

Used by the Duquesne Grays of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Presented by Gen. Albert J. Logan.

242—Portrait

General James K. Moorhead.

243—Portrait

Charles Brewer, Esq.

244—Portrait

Mrs. Charles Brewer.

Loaned by Gen. Albert J. Logan.

245—Frame 32½ x 76

A Plan of the boundary lines between the Province of Maryland and the three lower Counties on the Delaware, with part of the parallel of latitude which is the boundary between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. With the signature of the following.

Commissioners appointed by The Right Honourable Frederick Lord Baron of Baltimore.

Horatio Sharp—John Ridout—John Leeds—John Barclay—George Stewart—John Beal Bordley Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer—

Commissioners appointed by The Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn Esquires

William Allen—Benjamin Chew—John Ewing—Edward Shippen, Jr.,—Thomas Willing—

Fac-Simile of the Parchment-Map, prepared by Messrs Mason and Dixon in 1768.

Presented by Mr. Newton E. Graham.

246—Frame

Containing nine views of The Butcher's Run Flood. On the evening of July 26th, 1874, Allegheny was visited by a heavy rain and cloudburst, the water filled Butcher's Run and Spring Garden Avenue like a river and rushed forward with fearful velocity. Meeting, the two floods caused dreadful disaster. The loss of life was estimated at one hundred and twenty-five, seventy-five houses were swept away and six hundred wrecked; the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Regiments were called out for the protection of property.

Presented by Mr. Charles L. Ulligkait.

247—Engraving

General Grant and his Family.

Designed by

Frederick B. Schell.

Engraved by

Samuel Sartain, 1868.

248—Frame 22x28

Containing three pictures of,

The Old Pittsburgh Market and Court House, completed April 1784 taken down 1852.

The Court House completed 1842, destroyed by fire May 7th, 1882.

The Allegheny County Court House, commenced to build September 1884, completed April 1888.

Presented by Mr. Joseph B. Wolstoncraft.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HON. WILLIAM DENNY TO MAJOR BURD

Philadelphia 6 April 1757—

Sir;

A large supply of Powder and other Military Stores will be sent with all possible dispatch to Forts Augusta and Halifax with an additional quantity of Provisions.

Mr. Young the Commifsary has delivered you my Instructions, and I depend upon your Conduct and prudence in using your best endeavors to persuade the Soldiers to Continue in the Service, and I make no doubt but you will exert yourself in the defence of the place in case you are attacked. It is necefsary you should be very careful not to waste the Ammunition, and to load the Cannon with cartridge shot and not to fire till the Enemy are very near.

If they break ground or build Huts, to fire single Balls. Please to observe strict Discipline, and see your self, that the Officers and Soldiers do their Duty, and you will go the Rounds frequently by day and night.

Send me by the first opportunity a list of the Officers of the Augusta Regiment, with their particular Characters, upon your Honour, It is for the good of the Service, and your Account shall be kept secret.

When the Garrison at Halifax is reinforced you will order an officer and twenty-five Men in two light Battoes, pickt out for that purpose, to go up the Juniata Ten or Twelve Miles and reconnoiter once or twice a Week.

I am.
Sir.
Your most humble servant.
William Denny.

On His Majesty's Service
To
Major Burd,
at
Fort Augusta.

To
Favour of
Colonel Armstrong

Pittsburgh, Pa., August 6th, 1791

Sir/

Mr. Casper Reel has never been paid for the posts for the Garden fence in front of your house_____the price of them was to be what is customary in Pittsburgh per agreement with myself.

I am Sir
Your Obliged Able Servant
W. H. Beaumont.

Members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania Who Died in 1922

MR. ERASMUS WILSON

DR. JAMES P. BLACKBURN
McKeesport, Penn'a.

MR. JOSEPH WOOD

MR. E. P. DOUGLASS
McKeesport, Penn'a.

MR. THOMAS M. WALKER
St. Petersburg, Florida

MR. CHARLES S. REA

MR. JAMES H. BEAL

MR. SAMUEL FREEMAN SIPE

MR. OLIVER McCLINTOCK

MR. THOMAS REED HARTLEY

HON. CHARLES FRANCIS McKENNA

MR. ROLAND C. ROGERS
Brownsville, Penn'a.

MR. J. S. DuSHANE
New Castle, Penn'a

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

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Of Western Pennsylvania Historial Magazine published Quarterly at Pittsburgh, Pa., for October 1st, 1922. State of Pennsylvania County of Allegheny.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared O. S. Decker, who, having been duly sworn according to law deposed and says that he is the Chairman, Pubn. Committee of the Western Penna. Historical Magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, The Historical Society of Western Penna., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Editor, Charles W. Dahlinger, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Managing Editor, Same
Business Managers, None.

2. That the owners are:
The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William H. Stevenson, President, Pittsburgh, Pa.
B. S. Patterson, Sec'y, Pittsburgh, Pa.
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(s) O. S. Decker, Chr. Publ. Com.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of Sept., 1922.

(s) Anna A. Gunst,
Notary Public

My commission expires June 2nd, 1923.

GIFTS AND LOANS

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in its building at Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, maintains a Museum for the preservation of relics, pictures and documents associated with the history of Western Pennsylvania and adjoining territory. Hundreds of articles, many of which constitute a priceless talisman in the annals of the country about the Forks of the Ohio, have been donated to the Society and are treasured in the Museum for the education of posterity.

Constant additions are being made to these gifts and the Society especially desires that all persons interested in preserving relics and documents relating to the history of Western Pennsylvania take advantage of the opportunity for safeguarding them in the custodianship of this organization. Books and documents by Pennsylvania authors, and pictures, documents and articles that have belonged to eminent Pennsylvanians of the western counties of the State are solicited. Acknowledgment of donations and loans will be made in succeeding issues of the Historical Magazine.

Historical Hall is open for visitors each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M., and on Sundays from 2 P. M. to 4 P. M. when access is had to the library and Museum.

Emma D. Poole, Librarian

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

APRIL, 1923

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 2

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 6 No. 2 APRIL, 1923 Price 75 cents

AN APPRECIATION*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are assembled to commemorate the 69th anniversary of Stephen C. Foster's death and I think it fitting that I should say a few words tonight in his honor.

We are proud to claim him for Pittsburgh, since he was born in what later came to be the borough of Lawrenceville, now included in the Bloomfield section of Pittsburgh. His father, who was in good circumstances, owned a large farm outside the city limits and had it in mind to call the tract Fosterville; but at the time it was being laid out, Captain Lawrence, of "Don't give up the Ship" fame, died and Foster's father, who greatly admired the hero, gave the name of Lawrenceville to the land; so it happened that Stephen

*A short address to an audience at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., January 13th, 1923 by Charles Heinroth; the occasion being a Stephen C. Foster memorial recital at which Mrs. Jessie Lucille Low, in costume of the period, sang eleven Foster songs and Dr. Heinroth played appropriate organ music. The program in full was: I. "In Memoriam", Foerster; II. "Variations on an American Air", Foster-Flagler; III. Five Songs, Foster; "My Old Kentucky Home"; "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming"; "De Glendy Burke"; "Uncle Ned"; "Gentle Annie"; IV. An Appreciation; V. Six Songs, Foster, "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground"; "Old Dog Tray"; "Old Black Joe"; "Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair"; "Katie Bell"; "The Old Folks at Home"; VI. "Song of Sorrow", Nevin; VII. "March Triumphale", Archer.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

that when walking he kept his eyes on the ground, a few paces ahead of his steps and that he walked with a stoop. He could be very entertaining in company, but was generally meditative and preferred solitude. We are told that he received for one song alone five thousand dollars in royalties. But he had one besetting habit, which he fought valiantly throughout life to overcome and which eventually caused his death. A good many of his later songs, among them "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground", were written in a saloon in Christie Street in New York and he died in a lodging house on the Bowery on January 13th, 1864. His remains were brought to Pittsburgh; the funeral services were held in Trinity Church and his body was committed to the ground to the strains of "My Old Kentucky Home," sung by a male quartet.

Like Edgar Allen Poe, his life was not a happy one.
But his music lives on.

Charles Heinroth.

NOTICE

The article in the January, 1923 issue entitled "Western Pennyslvania and the Election of 1860," is printed without indication of authorship.

The paper was read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania May 31, 1922 by Mr. Joseph B. Wolstoncraft.

The Editor.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA*

> "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, into the land that I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and be thou a blessing." Gen. 12:1.

To write the story of the Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania and to do the subject justice would take many volumes, and I am necessarily confined to a short sketch. It goes without saying that much will be left unsaid, and much that might be interesting may be overlooked; but a busy man can simply do his best.

Let us in the first place analyze the term "Scotch-Irish." Who are the Scotch-Irish? There are some who maintain "there is no such animal." One must, therefore, consult the authorities.

Henry Jones Ford, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, in his book entitled *The Scotch-Irish in America,* among other things states: The term Scotch-Irish is also ancient, being the designation used in the Scottish universities for the students resorting to them from Ulster. Their Scottish character was fully recognized, but at the same time they were not of Scotland, so the Ulster student was registered as 'Scoto-Hibernus.' "

It might be said in passing that Henry Jones Ford from whom I have quoted was for fourteen years connected with the *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph* in an editorial capacity (1891 to 1905).

The late Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West,* says: "The dominant strain in their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish—the Scotch-Irish, as they were often called." He further remarks that, "it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern, virile people, the Irish, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin."

Lecky, the historian, is quoted as follows—when remarking that the issue of the Revolutionary War once rested upon the action of the Pennsylvania Line—whose "privates

*Paper read before the Society, February 27, 1923, by the Hon. Robert Garland, President of the Garland Manufacturing Co. and Councilman, City of Pittsburgh.

and non-commissioned officers consisted chiefly of emigrants from the North of Ireland."

John Walker Dinsmore, D. D., LL. D., in his book, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, writes: "For 200 years and more the Scotch-Irish race has been a very potential and beneficent factor in the development of the American Republic."

In his *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, John Fiske says:

"The name 'Scotch-Irish' is an awkward compound, and is in many quarters condemned. Curiously enough, there is no one who seems to object to it so strongly as the Irish Catholic. While his feelings toward the 'Far Downer' are certainly not affectionate he is nevertheless anxious to claim him with his deeds and trophies, as simply Irish, and grudges to Scotland the claim to any share in producing him. It must be admitted, however, that there is a point of view from which the Scotch-Irish may be regarded as more Scotch than Irish. The difficulty might be compromised by calling them Ulstermen, or Ulster Presbyterians."

In writing of the presidents of the United States, Whitelaw Reid is authority for the statement that Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, Chester A. Arthur and William McKinley were of Ulster ancestry; while General Grant, Benjamin Harrison, Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt were Scotch-Irish on their mother's side.

In Whitelaw Reid's address in Edinburgh on "The Scot in America and the Ulster Scot," a copy of which is in the Carnegie Library, after stating that the term "Ulster Scot" is preferable to Scotch-Irish, Mr. Reid makes mention of an Irishman born in Liverpool. The census enumerator was setting him down as English when he indignantly interrupted, "Sure, and is it any rayson for calling a man a horse because he was born in a stable."

Mr. Reid then quotes our own ex-Congressman John Dalzell, as saying of Pittsburgh: "It is Scotch-Irish in substantial origin, in conplexion and history—Scotch-Irish in the countenances of the living, and the records of dead."

Mr. Reid also quotes our greatest American historian, George Bancroft, himself a New Englander by birth, who

closed his account of the Ulster Scots with these words: "They brought to America no submissive love for England; and their experience and their religion alike bade them meet oppression with prompt resistance. We shall find the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain come not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from 'Scotch-Irish' Presbyterians."

In his book entitled *The Making of Pennsylvania*, Sidney George Fisher, in writing of the settlement of Scotch-Irish in eastern and western Pennsylvania, states: "The western Presbyterians were almost exclusively 'Scotch-Irish'; always sought the frontier and advanced with it westward. In religion there was but little difference between the two divisions, but in character and temperament the western Scotch-Irish were more excitable and violent." The Whiskey Insurrection proves this, and it must be admitted that the Scotch-Irish were back of that trouble.

Lord Rosebery, one of England's greatest statesmen, himself a Scotchman, presiding at the session of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute in November, 1911, said:

"We know that the term Ulster-Scot is generic and simply means Scoto-Irish. I love the Highlander and I love the Lowlander, but when I come to the branch of our race which has been grafted on the Ulster stem, I take off my hat with veneration and awe. They are, I believe, the toughest, the most dominant, the most irresistible race that exists in the universe at this moment."

Massachusetts possibly more than any other of our States is conceded to be, or rather claims to be, the seat of learning, and Boston styles herself the "Hub of the Universe," educationally speaking—

"The land of the bean and the cod,
Where the Cabots speak only to Lowells
And the Lowells speak only to God."

Let us see what modern Massachusetts has to say through the mouth of one of its most distinguished citizens, Henry Cabot Lodge, senior United States Senator from that State. The *Century Magazine* for September, 1891, contained an article by Senator Lodge on, "The Distribution

of Ability in the United States," in which he classified the Scotch-Irish as a distinct race stock. This was the subject of criticism, in reply to which he said: "I classified the Irish and the Scotch-Irish as two distinct race-stocks, and I believe the distinction to be a sound one historically and scientifically. . . The Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland, Protestant in religion and chiefly Scotch and English in blood and name, came to this country in large numbers in the eighteenth century, while the people of pure Irish stock came scarcely at all during the colonial period, and did not immigrate here largely until the present century was well advanced."

It seems to me that the above citations are sufficient to establish at least the reasons for the usage of the term "Scotch-Irish."

The Scotch-Irish started with what is known as the "Ulster Plantation" or "Ulster Settlement," when many people from Scotland migrated to the northern province of Ireland, and, as history says, made a garden out of a wilderness.

It seems that when James I. ascended the throne of England he brought about the outlawry of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel—referred to in history as the "Flight of the Earls"—and confiscated their estates, forfeiting them to the Crown, these estates comprising about 800,000 acres. Some historians say that this outlawry was brought about by deception and trickery on the part of King James.

Many Scotch and a few English went across to occupy this fertile land of Ulster, the Scotch people largely predominating, and history thereafter records these people as Scotch-Irish. This migration was in the year 1609 and thereafter. James the First of England was also James the Sixth of Scotland. He was typically Scotch and it was therefore natural that he should invite his own countrymen to take up and occupy these vacant lands.

As time went on these people prospered, agriculturally and industrially, to such an extent that in the industries they provoked the jealousy of the industrial centers of England, notably Birmingham. They had made great strides in the linen and woolen trades. Laws were passed in Eng-

land bringing about prohibition of trade between Ireland and England or her colonies. Rent exactions and oppression of landlords also brought about trouble. On top of this came religious persecution. The great majority of these settlers were followers of John Knox. They had listened to his preachings. They were persecuted by the Anglican Church of the time; were not allowed to follow their forms of worship or occupy the churches they had themselves built.

They then turned their eye westward towards the New World. They knew of the pilgrimage of the "Mayflower" of immortal memory.

One of their own people had gone forth to America in the person of Francis Makemie. This Presbyterian minister, born in County Donegal in the year 1658, organized the first Presbytery in America in the city of Philadelphia in 1706. In the year 1675 he was enrolled as a student in the University of Glasgow as "Franciscus Makemius, Scoto-Hyburnus."

A monument to his memory, suitably inscribed, was erected in Virginia in 1907 by the American Presbyterian Historical Society. He was the chief founder of the organized Presbyterian Church in America, and was the first Moderator of the General Presbytery.

And I emphasize again the fact that he is registered in 1675 at the University of Glasgow as "Scoto-Hyburnus," or Scotch-Irish.

These Scotch-Irish people flocked to Philadelphia, Charleston and Boston. Philadelphia, however, was the chief port of entry, and from 1717 to 1750 they literally poured in. Froude in his *History of Ireland* says, "Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woolen trade." This was about 1700.

For several years prior to 1750, about 12,000 arrived yearly. In September, 1736, 1,000 families sailed from Belfast alone. The second great migration occurred between 1771 and 1773.

It appears that Irish immigration from the three other provinces of Ireland was meager until the potato famine

of 1847-1849, and up until 1840 Irish immigration was almost entirely from Ulster.

These men who came to America from Ulster were the descendants of the men who held the walls of Derry (the siege of Londonderry being one of the seven great sieges in history). They were of the same stock as those who fought later and classed themselves among the immortals as members of the Enniskillen Dragoons in "The Charge of the Light Brigade" at Balaclava. (Did you Scotch-Irish know that Enniskillen is in Ulster?)

Many of them made their way westward through the Cumberland Valley to western Pennsylvania and beyond the confines of civilization to Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, the Carolinas and to far off Texas. They peopled western Pennsylvania to a very large extent. They joined the armies of Washington, being in the majority in the Pennsylvania regiments, and history makes mention of Washington and his Scotch-Irish generals.

They were pioneers, frontiersmen, these Scotch-Irish; their general equipment consisted of a rifle, the Bible and the Psalms of David.

History records that these people from the North of Ireland were not only pioneers but that the establisment of churches and schools was always their first care. It is a general comment that almost simultaneously with dwelling houses and barns, the school house and church were built in every community.

Reverend Charles Beatty, the first Presbyterian missionary west of the Allegheny Mountains, was born in County Antrim, Ireland, about the year 1715, of Scotch-Irish stock, and was the first pastor in Western Pennsylvania in 1758. Franklin in his autobiography states that Reverend Mr. Beatty, the chaplain at Fort Pitt, willingly accepted his proposal that the daily allowance of rum be given out to the soldiers after prayers. In thanking Franklin for his suggestion, the chaplain said that never were prayers better attended. He was followed by Dr. John McMillan, about whom much has been written, and others. It would appear that Dr. McMillan, a Presbyterian minister—one of the most prominent of the early leaders—opened the first school

in Western Pennsylvania in this section, probably about 1780. It may be imagined that in all probability the three r's were the principal studies. Other early Presbyterian ministers of note were Barr, Steele, Finley, Power, Dodd, Smith, Herron, Bruce and Black.

Reverend Samuel Barr from Londonderry, Ireland, came in 1785, ministering regularly, and in 1787 there was deeded to the congregation the lot on which the First Presbyterian Church, corner Sixth Avenue and Wood Street, Pittsburgh, now stands. In 1799 the Reverend Robert Steele from Ulster became pastor.

In the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1807 the following advertisement appears:

"The managers will commence the drawing of the Presbyterian Church lottery in the Court House in Pittsburgh the 20th day of October."

This is signed by John Wilkins, John Johnston, and William Porter, Managers.

And shortly afterward, through the same advertising medium, suit was threatened against those who had not paid for their lottery tickets.

We people of Pittsburgh at the present time have not altogether discarded the lottery habit—witness the many bazaars and other functions of recent date for the benefit of hospitals and the like, where automobiles and other valuable prizes were the attraction on chances.

Thomas Dungan, hailing from the North of Ireland, was the first Baptist preacher in Pennsylvania, coming to Bucks County in 1784. In Wesleyan Methodism, the first minister in the American colonies was Robert Strawbridge, an Irishman who settled in Maryland and first held services in his own house, soon after erecting the first American Methodist church. This was in 1764. The Wesleys themselves, both John and Charles, visited Georgia in 1735. They didn't get near Pennsylvania. In any event, we could not claim them as they were distinctly English, but we do claim as Scotch-Irish their famous Bible commentator, Adam Clarke, who was Ulster-born, a monument having been erected to him in his birthplace at Port Rush.

With reference to the Reformed Presbyterians, or

Covenanters, Reverend John Black, born in County Antrim in 1768, in the year 1800 started to preach in the First Reformed Church in Pittsburgh. It is recorded that he was the father of ten children, most of whom are prominent in the history of Pittsburgh.

The Christian Church, or the Disciples, was, as is generally known, founded by Alexander Campbell—they were first called Campbellites. Alexander Campbell, whose name is distinctly of Scotch origin, was born in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ulster, and at the age of twenty-one immigrated to this country. His activities were in Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. His first sermon in Western Pennsylvania was in Redstone Township, now Brownsville. The Christian, or Disciples Church, which has a large following in this country, owes its origin to him and it might be classed distinctly as a Scotch-Irish church. A President of the United States, James A. Garfield, belonged to this denomination; Champ Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the House under Woodrow Wilson, was also an adherent of this particular church, and, of course, many other men of note throughout the Country.

Concerning the Protestant Episcopal Church, it might be stated that while a goodly number of people of that denomination came from the North of Ireland and from England during the latter part of the eighteenth century, yet the fact that they were known as Church of England adherents acted against them by reason of the conflict between England and the Colonies; and while William White, the first bishop west of the Alleghenies, and other followers, did their work, it is not found that the Scotch-Irish figured particularly in that work.

This is largely a sketch of Western Pennsylvania only, and yet it might be stated that the Scotch-Irish did not confine their pioneer work to Western Pennsylvania alone, but they continued westward and southward.

It is a matter of history that Daniel Boone—whose principal work was carried on in the state of Kentucky; Simon Kenton; the Breckenridges of Kentucky; Sam Houston and Davey Crockett in far off Texas, were of Scotch-Irish stock. We also claim Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry of "we have met the enemy and they are ours" fame. And of

our race also was Patrick Henry of Virgina, who exclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death." While at home, natives of Pittsburgh, the two men who perhaps more than any other American song writers raised their voices in music to all the world, in the persons of Stephen C. Foster (whose songs are sung wherever the English language is spoken) and Ethelbert Nevin (composer of "The Rosary" and "Narcissus") were both of Scotch-Irish stock. It might also be stated that General William Robinson—after whom the street of that name on the North Side is called, and who, history records, was the first white child born north of the Allegheny River in what was formerly known as Allegheny City—born in 1785, was the son of Scotch-Irish parents, who were born in Ulster.

Summing up, therefore, while it must be admitted that the so-called Scotch-Irish were not all of Scotch origin, a sprinkling of them being more literally Scotch-English, yet it would seem from the names and from the histories and from the recorded lineages that the great majority were of Scotch descent. Of what is known as the Ulster Plantation it is generally agreed that the great bulk of the people went over to the North of Ireland from Scotland, and it may be remarked, and the statement cannot be controverted, that certainly the Presbyterian element dominated among these Scotch-Irish who built and pioneered Western Pennsylvania. This is shown in the establishment of churches, schools and institutions.

Taking the old records of the University of Pittsburgh, incorporated in 1787 as the Pittsburgh Academy, it will be found that the first trustees were principally Presbyterians, with six ministers among them.

About the same time was started the old Washington Academy, which was really founded in the log cabin of the Presbyterian minister, Reverend John McMillan. This was the predecessor of Washington and Jefferson College, the latter being a consolidation in 1866 of Washington Academy chartered in 1787 and Jefferson College chartered in 1802. In both of these institutions, the University of Pittsburgh and Washington and Jefferson, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian influence has dominated from the beginning to the

present time. It might be stated in this connection that Washington and Jefferson College has always had, and even to this date shows, a large majority of its graduates among the so-called Scotch-Irish element. I have this from President S. S. Baker, of that institution as follows:

"We all know that the Scotch-Irish element was exceedingly strong, numerically and otherwise, in all the history including both the origin and development of Washington and Jefferson College. I think it would be safe to assume that at least 75% of the graduates from both institutions, prior to the union in 1866, and the graduates of the united Washington and Jefferson College for a period of many years, were of Scotch-Irish descent."

Bearing in mind the predominance of the Scotch-Irish element, the following statistics given me by President Baker in October, 1922, should be interesting.

Statistics in relation to Alumni of Washington and Jefferson College:

Cabinet members of the United States—4.
United States Senators—11.
Governors of States—10.
United States Congressmen—91.
State Legislators—nearly 300.
Presidents of colleges and universities—90.
Moderators of the Presbyterian General Assembly—41.
Judges of State Supreme Courts—21.
Judges of County Courts—142.
Ordained ministers of the Gospel—more than 1,800
Attorneys at law—more than 1,300.
Doctors of medicine—more than 700.
Engineers, teachers, chemists, and business men — approximately 2,000.

Day, in his *Historical Collections*, writing of Washington County, Pennsylvania, which would be typical as a general application, says:

"The citizens, generally descendants of the Scotch-Irish, are noted as orderly, well educated, and church-going people; and the best evidence of this is the number and flourishing state of the colleges, seminaries and benevolent

institutions of the town and its vicinity."

I do not have the alumni statistics as to the University of Pittsburgh, but when you take the history of that institution and analyze the present and former names of the Trustees, beginning in 1788 when the first meeting was held, you will find that it was strongly Presbyterian, there being quite a sprinkling of Presbyterian ministers in the composition of the first Board, and that influence has continued on the Board up to this time.

Allegheny College at Meadville was also started by the Scotch-Irish in 1817, the founder being a Presbyterian minister. It was taken over by the Methodists in 1827. In 1851 Westminster College was started under Presbyterian auspices; Waynesburg College in 1850 under the Cumberland Presbyterian Church; and Grove City College, in which institution I have for some years past been a Trustee, growing from a school in 1865 to a college in 1884, was started by a Presbyterian minister and is dominated by Presbyterian influence today. Geneva College, Reformed Presbyterian, or Covenanter, was founded in 1848.

In theological seminaries we have the Western Theological, a Presbyterian institution started in 1825; Allegheny Theological, United Presbyterian persuasion, started in 1825; and the Reformed Presbyterian, started in 1856. These three theological seminaries on the north side of the river —formerly Allegheny—were all started by the Scotch-Irish.

There were no Roman Catholic theological colleges in Western Pennsylvania until 1870.

Think of it, three Presbyterian theological seminaries in this district, while other denominations must send their students to various parts of the country for instruction!

Therefore, when we speak of the Scotch-Irish we naturally must take off our hats to the Presbyterians who have dominated for about one hundred and fifty years; so much so that Pittsburgh is recognized as the strongest Scotch-Irish Presbyterian community in proportion to its population in the United States. The only city I know of that in any manner whatever approaches it, both as to Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism and for aggressive business enterprise in manufacturing and in merchandising, is Belfast, Ireland.

The similarity is noticeable.

Reverend Dr. John Ray Ewers, pastor of the East End Christian Church, Pittsburgh, in commenting on Presbyterianism, said that one of the common prayers of John Knox was, "O Lord, give me Scotland," and that God had not only given him Scotland, but it would seem that the City of Pittsburgh has also been thrown in for good measure.

And it is generally conceded, I think, by all discerning Americans that no other city in the country has the Sabbath observance record that Pittsburgh holds, or has held in the past. Sunday in our city is not commercialized, and the credit for this condition is due largely to that Scotch-Irish Presbyterian element which has dominated and continues to dominate the community.

In this community brought up on "oatmeal and the Ten Commandments," the oatmeal only has fallen somewhat by the wayside.

In Samuel Johnson's dictionary of the English language the definition for oats is: "A grain which is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people."

Sydney Smith speaks of the Land of Burns as: "Scotland, that knuckle end of England—that land of Calvin, Oat cakes and sulphur."

It would appear that "Scotch-Irish" and "Presbyterian" so far as Western Pennsylvania is concerned, are almost synonymous terms. They not only have left their impression on the community in days gone by, but many of their descendants are still among us. They are naturally proud of their origin and it is a common thing in Pittsburgh to hear a man or woman say, "My father or my grandfather, or my mother or my grandmother came from the County Down or the County Antrim or the County Tyrone," or some other county in the North Ireland. They have been successful and influential in the development of the country, in education, commerce and finance. Their fame has gone out all over this broad land, while in the Pittsburgh district they are among our best and most progressive citizens. A glance at some of the very old directories which can be found in the Carnegie Libraries in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, will show that Scotch-Irish names predominate, and many of

those names have come down to the present day in our business life.

In handing these boquets to our Presbyterian brethren, we must not overlook the fact that there were other Scotch-Irish—Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians and members of other denominations. In my opinion, however, there can be no disputing the fact that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, to a much greater extent than any others, started things going in this Western Pennsylvania territory, founding schools, churches, colleges and theological seminaries. Credit to whom credit is due. My hat is off to them so far as Pittsburgh is concerned, as Pittsburgh is, after all, the hub around which that section known as Western Pennsylvania revolves. They are good people. My only daughter married one, but the grandchildren will belong to the older church. So much for grandparental influence diplomatically exercised, as it must be when one deals with a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, for they are a controversial lot.

Presbyterianism has had a checkered career, theologically speaking. They were first Presbyterians under John Knox, and for about one hundred years there were no schisms. Then there was considerable controversy which brought about secessions. There were the "Old Light Antiburghers" and the "New Light Antiburghers"; there was the "Church of Scotland" and the "Church of Ireland"; there was the "Canadian Church"; there were the "Cameronians," or the "Covenanters," who afterwards became the Reformed Presbyterians. We also have the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Today we have notably the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and last but not least, the plain or blue-stocking Presbyterians.

I do not confess to being a theologian, and do not attempt to explain all their differences.

The story is told of a dinner given by a Presbyterian lady whose guests were asked to state the denominations to which they belonged. One was an Episcopalian, another was a Methodist, another a Baptist, etc. One of those present turned to the small daughter of the house and asked, "My child, what are you?" She replied, "Mamma says it is sinful to boast, but I am a Presbyterian."

I never did believe that story told of the canny Scotchman who spoke to his daughter one Sunday morning thusly: "Keep your eyes on the ground, its kind o' pious looking; and then forbye ye micht find a purse or something."

It might also be stated that the three largest owners of real estate in Pittsburgh are three Scotch-Irish families, Mellon, Oliver and Jones, the two former being County Tyrone Ulster stock, while the last named is Scotch-Irish on the maternal side. The combined annual revenue received from taxation by the city alone from these three families is considerably over a million dollars.

The present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Andrew W. Mellon, known and recognized locally as our foremost citizen, and throughout the country generally as the ablest head of the United States Treasury Department since the days of Alexander Hamilton, is the son of an Ulster-born father, the late Judge Thomas A. Mellon. He is a member of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society.

For the purpose of making a record in the annals of the Historical Society, I would like to insert in this paper just a few names of those of Scotch-Irish descent who have been prominent in Western Pennsylvania affairs: (With apologies to those whose names have been overlooked. I am not making a directory, but have simply chosen rather hurriedly some fairly representative names.)

I will first mention a few names from the nearby counties, exclusive of Allegheny County:

Armstrong County	**Beaver County**	
Armstrong	Agnew	Elder
Cochran	Allison	Harrah
Crawford	Beatty	Hemphill
Henderson	Bigger	Irvin
Henry	Boyle	Kerr
Johnston	Calhoun	Moore
McBryar	Christy	McCartney
Orr	Darragh	McCauley
Potter	Davidson	Power
	Dunlap	Thompson
	Eakin	Wilson

Butler County
Bredin
Butler
Galbraith
Gilmore
Greer
McCandless
McJunkin
McQuiston
Robinson

Fayette County
Boyle
Cochrane
Ewing
Hogsett
Searight

Greene County
Chambers
Flennekin
Henderson
Huston
Kent
Knox
McCullough
McFarland
Wiley

Lawrence County
Aiken
Cunningham
Eckles
Greer
Jackson
Kirk
McCaslin
Wallace

Washington County
Acheson
Barnett
Bell
Berryman
Blaine
Ewing
Hart
Marshall
McKennan
Patterson
Redick
Reed
Sloan
Wilson

Westmoreland Co.
Coulter
Cowan
Duff
Gear
Guffey
Hanna
Jamison
Laird
McCormick
Moorhead

Concerning Allegheny County, having been a resident of Pittsburgh for over forty years, I am better informed, so that the partial list is necessarily larger. It includes many of the old time names in the history of Pittsburgh, as follows: (Again with apologies to those whose names have been overlooked.)

Acheson
Agnew
Aiken
Allderdice
Arbuthnot
Armstrong
Atwell
Bailey
Baird
Barbour
Beal
Beatty
Berryman
Black
Bole
Brown
Buffington
Butler
Caldwell
Campbell
Carlin
Carnahan
Carpenter
Cassidy
Church
Cochran
Cowan
Craig
Crawford
Cunningham
Dalzell
Dickson
Donnell
Ewing
Foster
Frazer
Fulton
Geddes
Gibson
Gillespie
Gorman
Gormley
Graham
Gregg
Griggs
Hailman

Hamilton
Harbison
Hardy
Harper
Hays
Hemphill
Henderson
Herron
Holmes
Houston
Humphrey
Irwin
Jamison
Johnson
Johnston
Kerr
Kier
King
Knox
Langfitt
Laughlin
Liggett
Lindsay
Little
Lowry
Lyon
Macbeth
Macfarlane
Mackrell
Macrum
Magee
Mahood
Marshall
McAfee
McAteer
McCandless
McBride
McCausland
McClay
McClelland
McClements
McClenahan
McClintock
McClung
McClurg
McClurkin
McConway
McCook
McCormick
McCrea
McCreery
McCrory
McCune
McDonald
McEldowney
McElroy
McFadden
McFall
McGaw
McGinley
McGinness
McGunnegle
McJunkin
McKay
McKelvey
McKnight
McLain
McMasters
McMillan
McNaugher
Mellon
Mitchell
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Murdoch
Neely
Nevin
Nimick
Ogden
Oliver
Orr
Patterson
Pennock
Phillips
Pollock
Potter
Rea
Reed
Riddle
Robinson
Rodgers
Scully
Semple
Shaw
Snodgrass
Sterrett
Stevenson
Stewart
Taggart
Tate
Taylor
Tener
Thompson
Todd
Torrance
Torrens
Trimble
Veech
Verner
Wallace
Ward
Whigham
Wightman
Willock
Wilson
Witherow
Woodside
Woodward

The names shown in this partial list are those of men prominent in the manufacturing, commercial, professional and political life of the community, and it is unnecessary to go into details as to their accomplishments, as Western

Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh district speak for themselves.

It will be generally admitted that the people of this race have contributed in a large measure to the building up of the great Industrial Empire of Western Pennsylvania, of which Pittsburgh is the center.

In the World War eighty-six Congressional Medals have been awarded for conspicious bravery on the field of battle. Only twenty-five of these were given to men who survived, sixty-one being awarded posthumously. One only was awarded to those who enlisted from Pennsylvania, and this to Colonel Joseph H. Thompson of Beaver Falls, Penna. Colonel Thompson was then major in the 110th Infantry, 28th iDvision, and he was awarded the medal for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action near Apremont, France.

Joseph H. Thompson is not only Scotch-Irish, but Ulster-born, so that, not only in the field of industry, commerce, finance, education, and other peaceful pursuits do the Scotch-Irish shine, but also on the field of battle in the most recent war. They run true to form.

It might be remarked that quite a number of people when asked from whence their forebears hailed, will reply that they are Americans—they disclaim or deny any other country and will stick to it. Well, if they have no particular pride of ancestry and will insist upon claiming kinship with the noble North American Indian, and desire to do reverence to his totem pole and his traditions, let them have their way. As for the Scotch-Irish of the present generation, they agree with Wordsworth:

> "We must be free or die who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spoke, the faith and morals hold,
> Which Milton held."

It may be particularly noted, and many historians and commentators point to the fact, that while in various places in history the Scotch-Irish get some praise for their accomplishments in the Colonial wars and in pioneering the western and southern country, they have not as a race been given full credit. Some writers say they were "doers" rather than talkers or writers. They may have "attended

too much to their own knitting." Had they come over in one distinct lot or unit as did the Puritan Fathers on the "Mayflower," they would probably have received more recognition, but they came for many years in steady influx; and again one must remember that they were not so particularly known as Scotch-Irish but simply as Irish.

It is also a fact that New England furnished quite a number of the American histories and naturally Massachusetts and the New England States were to the forefront and much was made of the Puritan Fathers who came over as a unit; besides, we all know how common it is for many people to claim that their ancestry goes back to the "Mayflower." If the "Mayflower" should have to respond to the many claims, she would need to be some ocean liner—perhaps a fleet.

Throughout the North of Ireland the Scotch-Irish had been engaged in the industries, having become famous in woolen and linen manufacture. The inventive genius naturally developed later, and it is worthy of note that many of the race became famous in the field of invention. Three particular examples might here be cited in this sketch, these being:

Robert Fulton, who applied steam to water navigation, born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish parents who emigrated from Ireland in 1730. Fulton's father was one of the founders of the Presbyterian church in Lancaster.

Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, and Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the McCormick reaper.

It might be noted that David B. Oliver, who was until a couple of months ago President of the Pittsburgh Board of Education, remaining still a member of the Board, and who was instrumental in making the School Code for Pennsylvania—eighty-eight years young—was born in County Tyrone, Ireland. Mr. Oliver is the only surviving iron and steel manufacturer of the old regime, going back to the early '60s. He is a member of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society. This "grand young man" has just rounded out fifty years of unsalaried official service to our public school system, and as a tribute to his excellent work, the Pitts-

burgh Board of Education has recently named the new high school on Brighton Road in lower Allegheny in his honor, this educational institution to be known henceforth as the "David B. Oliver High School."

We have in our city an organization known as "The Ulster Society of Pittsburgh," of which a Presbyterian minister is president, and his predecessor, who organized the society, is also a Presbyterian pastor. Those of Ulster lineage or descent are eligible to membership. This society is doing good work and, like the Scotch-Irish Society of Pennsylvania, it helps to disseminate among our people the traditions and achievements of our race.

Their emblem or insignia is the "Red Hand of Ulster."

In Y. M. C. A. work in this district the services and activities of Robert A. Orr, and of the man now in the saddle, Ralph W. Harbison, should not be overlooked. Both are of Scotch-Irish descent.

To place it upon the records of this Society, I want to relate the following incident:

I was in the office of the late United States Senator, George T. Oliver, several years ago, when he showed me his state certificate, or commission, to the effect that he had been duly elected a Senator. It was signed by John K. Tener, the Governor, and attested by Robert McAfee, then Secretary of the Commonwealth. The Senator remarked that all three, the United States Senator for Pennsylvania, the Governor of the State and the Secretary of the Commonwealth were born in the North of Ireland.

Driven to American soil by persecution in the early days of the country, and with their hearts embittered against England, history records that these people fought her to such an extent that there was no Toryism among the Scotch-Irish. They were Americans to the core.

How is it today in that northern province of Ireland? She is intensely loyal to the British Empire. The records show:

"The moment the German danger was made manifest, the entire population of Unionist Ulster rallied to the cause of the Empire and of liberty with an overwhelming enthusiasm.

"The Ulster Division was raised, equipped and officered entirely by Ulster men. The British Government was asked only to supply rifles and ammunitions.

"Ulster, though containing only one-third of the population of Ireland, supplied more recruits to the army than all the other three provinces of Ireland combined."

It might be noted that the present actual head of the British Empire, Bonar Law, successor to the "Welsh Wizard," is of Ulster stock. In *The Spectator* of November 18, 1911, is found the following:

"Mr. Bonar Law comes of Ulster stock, and that at this moment should stand him in good stead. A man whose father was born in Ulster and whose nearest relations still live there is not likely to misunderstand the Irish question in the way in which English statesmen sometimes misunderstand it, even when their intentions are of the best."

In order that I may not be considered biased or prejudiced—being born in the purple, hailing from Ulster myself and not ashamed of it—I want to place upon the records a few extracts from the annals of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society, which organization for thirty-four consecutive years has met in annual meeting and banquet in Philadelphia and has tended to keep alive the interest in things Scotch-Irish. The Society is a flourishing one. Practically every president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and every governor of our State qualified for membership. It had among its presidents such men as Samuel Rea, now President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Judge Nathaniel Ewing, Judge William P. Potter, Judge Joseph Buffington, and Justice William I. Scaffer. And I may state with pardonable pride that the president this year is my brother, an Episcopal bishop in Philadalphia.

The Society deserves credit for keeping alive and spreading upon the records the achievements and the accomplishments of the people of our race, and these sketches will give you at least a partial idea of its work.

Reverend Henry D. Lindsay, several years ago President of the Pennsylvania College for Women (Pittsburgh), in an address before the Pennsylvania Society in 1913, after saying, "I am one of you, born of Scotch-Irish parents,

baptized with a Scotch-Irish name, literally rocked in a Scotch-Irish cradle that was a century old, and fed on Scotch-Irish theology," proceeded to give a few instances of the hardships endured by the early settlers in Western Pennsylvania, which is something over which we should ponder. One of these is the story taken from the journal of Reverend David McClure, written in 1774, as follows:

"The people are mainly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. On this journey we overtook several families moving from the older settlements in the East to the West. I remember one in particular, a family of about twelve. The man carried a gun and an axe on his shoulders. The wife had the rim of a spinning wheel in one hand and a loaf of bread in the other. The little boys and girls each carried a bundle according to their age. Two poor horses were loaded with some of the bare necessities of life. On top of the baggage of one was a sort of wicker cage in which a baby lay, rocked to sleep by the motion of the horse. A cow was one of the company, and she was destined to bear her part of the family belongings. A bed cord was wrapped around her horns and a bag of meal was on her back. This family was not only patient, but cheerful; pleased at the prospect of finding a happy home in one of the valleys which stretched from the mountains westward on to Pittsburgh."

Dr. Lindsay further says:

"Can you not see that little family, with hope shining in their faces, moving on that they may establish a home? Do you not believe that following the home there came the school and the church? I would like to know what the history of that family was in the future. I would like to know what they did to make this country of ours. I am sure it was worth while."

He then related the following as told him by a friend in 1913:

" 'I went out the other day on a drive of about twenty miles from Pittsburgh and visited the graves of my great grandfather and my grandfather in an old churchyard.' And this is the story: 'My great grandfather was an Ulster Scot. He moved into Western Pennsylvania from the Cumberland Valley. After he had reared his log cabin and

cleared a little patch of land he said to his wife one morning, "I will go to Hannastown today and register my land." She said, "I will take the little boy and the dog and go to the woods and gather our winter's store of nuts." The man passed on along an Indian trail until after a mile or so he came to the home of a neighbor, where he stopped for kindly greetings and a cup of cold water. Then he passed on his way. In an hour he met a fugitive from Hannastown, who with gasping breath said to him, "The Indians are out. They have burned Hannastown. They are massacring the inhabitants and all the settlers will be killed." Turning he sped back towards his home. Passing his neighbor's house he saw it in flames and the bleeding bodies of those who had welcomed him an hour before lay in the doorway. Going on he topped a hill and saw beyond his own house in flames. He turned aside. Surely they were dead or captive in the hands of ruthless savages, his loved ones. As he bowed his head to the stroke, a voice called him from the bushes, "John! Oh, John! We are all here. We are safe. The Indians did not find us." Then he bowed his head as he gathered his loved ones in his arms and thanked God for his goodness. Then lifting his face to Heaven, he said, "This land on which I stand shall be consecrated to Almighty God, and here shall rise a church to the honor and praise of His name"; and that church was built, and for more than a century there the Gospel was preached and the praise of the people ascended to Heaven from that ground dedicated to God in the thanksgiving of loving hearts. That Western Pennsylvania country is full of such traditions as that.' "

Reverend Dr. William Hamilton Spence of the First Presbyterian Church of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, before the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society in 1907 said:

"It is sometimes said that a Scotchman has no wit. An Englishman has no wit. You could not squeeze wit out of an Englishman with a cider-mill. But a Scotchman has wit, cutting as caustic, sharp as a two-edged sword and just as dangerous to fool with.

"A man once came reeling, in a state of intoxication, up to an old Scotch minister, to whom he said, 'I am a self-

made man'. 'Ah,' replied the dour dominie, 'thot relieves the Lord of a great responsibility.'

"Two Scotchmen were in Dublin, when they came across a place where a man had been painting a building green, and had spilled some paint on the sidewalk. Said Donald, 'Sandy, what is that, mon?' 'Ah,' he said, 'some Irishman has had a hemorrhage.'

"But for pure wit, spontaneous and ready, irresistible as a prattling child, as perennial as a fountain, the world is not in it with the Irish. He may sometimes go to his imagination for his facts, but no need to go to his memory for his wit.

"Said a tourist to an Irishman he met, with a great rent in the front of his coat, 'Pat, you have a rent in your coat.' 'Sure, sor,' came the reply, 'you can't call it rent in arrear.'

"The Scotchman is a thinker. Cool and self-contained, careful and scrutinizing; with a mental poise immovable by fads and novelties; with a positiveness that is refreshing even when wrong; with a mental daring, winging its flight against the blaze of every philosophy with an eye that never droops and a wing that never wearies—Hamilton and Hume, Adam Smith and Kant—Scotchmen, by every quality of their mental and moral mould have been commissioned to work out for civilization its deepest problems of destiny and life. On the other hand, the home of eloquence is the Emerald Isle....

"The Irish are religious. I know that for them nothing is too grave for a jest, nothing too solemn for a sarcasm. He will speak of most sacred things with a familiarity that seems flippant, but it is not irreverence. He is no more irreverent than a child.

"Two Irishmen were attending mass in a Catholic church one Sabbath morning, and after observing for a while the celebration, disregarding the sanctity of the day and the occasion, Corny, who was much impressed, turned to Tim and said, 'It beats the divil.' 'Whist, mon,' said Tim, 'that's the intintion.'...

"And your Scotchman is religious. It is his whole existence, not a thing apart.

"I am aware that Scottish religion is spoken of as a compound of worship on Sunday and whisky on Monday, as

a sort of mixture of spirits. Sandy may be, at times, a terror, but he is always a holy terror....

"Such are some of the elements of that rare mixture —the Scotch-Irish character. He is a blend. He is a resultant arising from two forces moving at different angles. Is he Scotch? No. Is he Irish? No. Neither too taciturn nor too vivacious; neither dead champagne nor soda water, not brilliantly witty, yet with all his wits; neither bannock nor ginger-bread; thoughtful yet with a fine gift of expression; not tenacious to pig-headedness or dashing without staying powers; with a governor to preserve an equable rate of speed between Scotch parsimoniousness and Irish prodigality, cast in the happy medium between a religion as prose and a religion as poetry—neither too dour nor too sentimental—the Scotch-Irishman is neither Scotch nor Irish; he is both without being either—just right....

"There is a chemistry of souls, with its law of combining proportions and consequent disappearances and transformations. Of this the Scotch-Irish are a notable illustration. The chlorine of the Scottish character and the sodium of the Irish mixed; and out of them came a character unlike either, yet depending upon both—a 'creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food,' nevertheless, what nobody will deny, the very salt of the earth.

"Why, how could it be otherwise? Incubated in Scotland, brooded in Ireland, sent over to America to scratch and feed and crow; Scotland for mother, Irish nurse, America for a bride; or, to adapt the figure to a genuinely Scotch-Irish taste, distilled in Scotland, decanted in Ireland, uncorked in America, how could there issue any other than a something to make

'the world grow pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale'?"

Dr. James H. Snowden of Pittsburgh, now editor of the *Presbyterian Magazine*, before the Scotch-Irish Society in 1910 said:

"The Scotch-Irishman has two main routes to his heredity: he comes down out of the past into our modern world walking like most men, on two legs. The original Scotchman, as he went over from Ireland into Scotland in

the sixth century of our era, was doubtless a rough, wild animal, a shaggy savage, with whom, could we now see him, we would not care to claim kinship. In Scotland he was compounded with other racial elements, Saxon and Norman, and thus his Celtic blood was tempered into riper strength and richer mood. Here also he developed that tenacity of nature that is his backbone to this day; out of that rocky soil he absorbed atoms of granite into his very bones. From Scotland he crossed over again to Ireland and combined the Irish with the Scotch traits. While at first there was little intermarrying and the two races kept somewhat distinct and even antagonistic, yet in time there was intermingling, and the Scotchman absorbed some of the Irish blood; at least, he imbided something out of the very air of his new home. Thus the original Scotch-Irishman may be described as a Scotchman who was rubbed through the sieve of Ireland. And therefore he combines in a degree the excellences of both races. He has the Scotch tenacity and obduracy tempered with Irish plasticity, buoyancy and brightness. He is a boulder of Scotch granite, overlaid and softened with the green verdure of Ireland. There is granite in his bones, but his mind is witty and his heart is tender.

"Such is the complex and rich stream of heredity that flowed out of Scotland through Ireland and that still retains its strong and fine qualities and courses in our veins."

Ex-Governor Brumbaugh speaking at the 1908 meeting of the Society—he was then superintendent of schools in Philadelphia—not Scotch-Irish but a guest of the occasion, said:

"You are the scrappiest lot in Pennsylvania. You like a fight. You hunted for it in those Colonial days and got it good and hard here and there on the frontier, but don't you think that the measure of the prowess of a people is the measure of their power of initiative? Everything that made for the essential development of this colony and commonwealth was headed in a most effective and aggressive way by this same dominant Scotch-Irish pioneer. It was he, somewhere in the group, that broke away from the traditions and set the standards for the new things that had to be.

"There is another thing that I have noticed about the Scotch-Irish up in Pennsylvania. I do not know much about them here in Philadelphia. We are such a cosmopolitan lot here that nobody knows which is the other until you find them out at a dinner like this, but up there in the State I have noticed this thing, and I speak of it with a very great deal of satisfaction, that Pennsylvania has no warmer, stauncher, or more aggressive supporters of her mighty educational system than the Scotch-Irish people. That is the truth of history, and it is a far reaching thing to remember when you call to mind the fact that your democracy, State and National, that your governmental institutions that you have heard so boldly and so discriminatingly defined here in your presence to-night, depend entirely upon the common knowledge which the common masses of our people possess, and your little red school houses on your hilltops and in your valleys are the very foundations of your democracy and the teachers of your republic, and the man who stands by the side of the public school and gives to it his sympathy and his resources is the highest type of patriot that we breed in this republic to-day wherever he lives. So I wanted to-night to come here and pay my tribute of reverence and regard to a people who have been consistently and steadily the friends of the public schools of Pennsylvania."

Reverend Dr. Robert Johnston of Philadelphia, before the Society in 1915 said:

"They were cast forth by religious intolerance; and, in their new home in America, they fought wild Nature and the wild Indian. They were the barrier between the Indian and the settlers on the coast. When the mad mania of kings followed them into their new land they fought the 30,000 German hirelings of the German George the Third. They fought so well that on them Washington leaned. On one occasion he said that, if the worst came, he could still retire to the mountains and fight it out with his faithful Scotch-Irish. It is the glory of the race, and I could wish to God that the men here had the same fighting spirit their fathers had. But I fear that the luxury of these American years has nearly ruined all. The fathers of the race have had an

age-long fight against the poverty of the land, and where it is fertile it has been salted with the sweat of labor and the bones of the dead."

At the 1922 meeting of the Society, held February 17, Justice William I. Schaffer, but recently Attorney General of Pennsylvania, a former president of the Society, Scotch-Irish on the maternal side, in his remarks said:

"When you go far north there stands out the Scotchman, individual, everywhere racially strongly marked as scarcely any of humankind is marked. It matters not where he goes or with whom he lives or associates, he is still the Scot, strong, self-reliant, vigorous. And then away up furthest flung north on the map of Ireland, is that part of the world inhabited by the men that we, gathered here tonight, are proud to say, racially we belong to. Tried out in fires stronger blazing, than which none have been subjected to, now facing it may be as great trial as they ever faced, where high courage, clear thinking, the ability to see things as they are, is to count as it always has counted with them, they are demonstrating that the race holds true. Here today we of their blood extend hands across the sea, wish them well and desire them to know that all the ancient ties which have bound us bind us still. From that little spot, little comparatively compared with the greatness of Europe, from that little spot came the men of whom we are the descendants, who tamed a continent, flung themselves out to meet savagery and strange conditions with which men had never grappled before. The pioneering Scotch-Irishmen, landing at Newcastle, then a part of Pennsylvania, going up the old ship road, going down the Valley of the Cumberland, and up the Valley of the Juniata, clear across the mountains, reaching the head waters of the Ohio, gave pioneering America its texts, its creeds and its examples. That, gentlemen of the Society, it seems to me is the controlling reason for our being here tonight."

And our State Historian, who should have some knowledge of our State history, and we of this local society know that he does, George P. Donehoo, at the same meeting expressed himself in part as follows:

"I wish that it was possible for me to tell a few things

about the development of the only Scotch-Irish Commonwealth on the face of the earth, Pennsylvania, because Pennsylvania is the only country that the Scotch-Irishman claims as his home. He never had a home until he came to Pennsylvania. He did not belong in Scotland. He was driven out of that to the north of Ireland, then was driven out of the North of Ireland to the mountains of Pennsylvania, and here he founded—it is called Penn's Colony, but William Penn did not have very much to do with the development of it. The Scotch-Irishman took it from Penn's hands and made it what it is. . . .

"Then came persecutions in Ireland right at the psychological minute in human history and according to the Divine plan. Then came the only pioneers and frontiersmen that the world has ever had, that the American Continent has ever had in its period of development, driven from the place of refuge that he had by all of the taxes that taxed him from the cradle to the grave, coming in droves of twelve thousand annually clear up until the very commencement of the French and Indian War when the Divine playwright had set the stage for the evolution of human society and the time had come for the Scotch-Irish to step forth, take this burning torch, liberty to worship God, liberty of conscience, take it in this red bloody hand of Ulster, not with a dove of peace but with a rifle and sword, and carry that dogma out over the ridges of the Alleghenies into the trackless forest of the Ohio and down in the mountains of Kentucky and Virginia and then out across the prairies."

On the "Scotch-Irish in Ohio", our adjoining State to the west, Honorable James E. Campbell, ex-Governor of Ohio, before the Second Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society in 1890, held in Pittsburgh, said:

"The history of Scotch-Irish influence in shaping the destiny of Ohio goes back farther than is at first apparent. During the Revolutionary war, while Washington and his galaxy of Scotch-Irish generals were debating the propriety of was being redeemed from British rule by a valiant young disaster overtake the patriot cause, the territory they talked of was being redeemend from British Rule by a valiant young Scotch-Irishman, born near Monticello, Virginia, who at

twenty-six years of age, had achieved such fame that John Randolph eulogized him as the 'Hannibal of the West.' George Rogers Clarke was his name, and the North-west Territory, with its five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, and its fifteen millions of people, is his monument. The first exploration of this territory had been made by LaSalle as early as 1680, but the trading posts established by the French as a result of that expedition had a precarious existence. France, becoming involved in war with England, finally relinquished her hold on this garden spot of the earth. By the treaty of Paris the western boundary of the English colonies was fixed at the Mississippi River; and the territory north-west of the Ohio was ceded by the British Government to the Colony of Virginia under the charter of James I—a prince whose perfidy assisted largely in making Scotch-Irish history in America. When Virginia assumed the dignity of statehood, the North-west Territory was held by British troops stoutly entrenched behind strong forts. The sparse settlements were constantly menaced by red savages incited by England to make murderous incursions into Virginia and Kentucky.

"In 1778 Clarke was commissioned by the Scotch-Irish Governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, to make a secret expedition into the Ohio country for the purpose of restoring to Virginia the territory that had been ceded to the colony after the treaty of Paris. The soldiers selected to accompany him on this perilous expedition, so fraught with the destiny of the colonies, were picked men; the whole two hundred known for their skill as Indian fighters—men of stubborn endurance, resolute fortitude and persistent valor. Need it be said that Clarke found them among the Scotch-Irish in the Valley of Virginia?

"This expedition by Colonel Clarke was one of the most successful ever made. Governor Hamilton was taken, the forts captured and the North-west territory restored to Virginia.

"In 1780 she ceded it to the United States—Thomas Jefferson, the greatest Scotch-Irishman of America, being the author not only of the ordinance of cession, but also of the plan of government for the territory. It was provided

by him that after the year 1800 there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the five great states carved out of the territory; and thus began Scotch-Irish influence upon the material and spiritual development of our state, giving us a force in the maintenance of civilization that will abide so long as the spirits of Knox and Melville are an inspiration.

"Let it be here recorded that had it not been for the daring courage of Colonel Clarke, it is possible the Ohio river would now be the southern boundary of Canada. Thus, as we are indebted to Jefferson for the Louisiana purchase which gave our country the boundless West; to Polk, another Scotch-Irishman, for the golden slope of the Pacific; to General Jackson for Florida; and to big-hearted Scotch-Irish Sam Houston for Texas; so are we indebted to George Rogers Clarke for the possession of the North-west territory and to Thomas Jefferson for its permanent peace and prosperity. In this connection listen to the following tribute paid their memory by the eloquent Virginian, John Randolph Tucker, at the Marietta Centennial in 1888. He said, 'and so, from the day that the mountain heights of Monticello stood as sentinel guards over the cradled infancy of George Rogers Clarke and Thomas Jefferson, Providence had decreed that the one should conquer by prowess of arms, and the other by a wise diplomacy, the open water-way for the products of the West to the markets of the world."

The President of this Historical Society, William H. Stevenson, also Scotch-Irish, deserves considerable credit for his many years of hard work in the interest of water-way improvement, in which the States of Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky and Illinois are alike interested.

It will be seen by Governor Campbell's testimony that George Rogers Clarke did his part well in securing to the United States this vast territory which connects by water with Pittsburgh, described by Bancroft, our greatest historian, as the "gateway of the West."

It might also be noted that this same Colonel Clarke, afterwards a general, prepared himself in 1778, at Redstone, now Brownsville, in Western Pennsylvania, for his Illinois

expedition, and at that time received aid from General Hand, who was stationed at Pittsburgh.

Judge Nathaniel Ewing, of Uniontown, president of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society in 1907, in his address at the annual meeting and dinner of the Society in February of that year, among other things, said:

"Pennsylvania has evidenced her patriotism in the years gone by; her past, at least, is secure. Here are Fort Necessity. Fort Pitt, Independence Hall, and Gettysburg, and here they will remain forever. And Pennsylvania, the very apex and key of the whole nation, must maintain her primacy and continue to lead in the march of progress; and the Scotch-Irish must now and in the future, as in the past, be ever in the forefront. And are they not? Who today occupies the chair of the Chief Executive of this great Commonwealth but one of our most active members, the Hon. Edwin S. Stuart, whom we are gratified to have with us tonight? Who is his chief counsellor and firm reliance, but another of our members, Hon. Moses Hampton Todd? And who is the junior Senator from Pennsylvania but our own Philander C. Knox, for whom we believe and hope a yet higher station and greater honors are in waiting? And so, gentlemen, you find our members in the halls of Congress, in the Legislature, on the benches of our appelate and district courts, in our metropolitan and other pulpits, and in other prominent, influential and desirable positions; and everywhere, as we believe, working for equal justice to all and special privileges to none.

"A little lad, the youngest of three boys, the only children of a family, once heard his mother remark to a visitor that she did wish one of her children had been a girl. Upon the departure of the visitor the lad reminded his mother of this remark, and naively inquired, 'Who would have been it? George wouldn't have been it, and Willie wouldn't have been it, and you can just bet your sweet life that I wouldn't have been it.' But who, gentlemen, would not be a Scotch-Irishman?"

At the same dinner, the then Governor of Pennsylvania, Edwin S. Stuart, made an address from which I quote just a few lines:

"The Scotch-Irish people always respected the majesty and supremacy of the law. They came to this Country, with all its great opportunities, and for no State in the Union have they done so much as they have for the State of Pennsylvania."

Dr. Joseph Wilson Cochran, Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education of the Presbyterian Church, at the 1911 meeting of the Society, had this to say:

"The Scotch-Irish have been accused of a certain sullen refusal to exploit themselves in the pages of history. But long years ago we resigned the Chair of Elocution to the Yankee. It has been said that whenever a Yankee baby is old enough to sit up it at once proceeds to call the nursery to order and address the house. It may be that we have seen such horrible examples of racial volubility that we have cherished the more heartily the now almost antiquated habit of minding our own business. New England has written our school histories with scant recognition of the part played by our ancestors in the stirring events preceding the establishment of the Republic. All the Revolutionary plums were quickly knocked off the genealogical tree by Pilgrim pens and Puritan imaginations, and the Scotch-Irish have been left historically about in the position of the old lady who was on her way to Sterling Castle. She had intended going up by the Doon and Callender Branch, the little 'jerk water' railway leading to the castle. At the main line junction the guard threw open the door of the compartment and shouted, 'Any one here for Doon and Callender?' Receiving no response he slammed the door to and the train went on. Twenty miles beyond the old lady allowed an expansive smile to spread atwart her face, and nudging the ribs of her seat-mate remarked, 'A'm fer Doon and Callender, but I wouldna' tell the likes of hem.'

"Your Scotch-Irishman in the early days recked little of kings' palaces and cared naught for soft raiment and polished manners. Oatmeal, fresh air and the Bible combined to filter the iron of steady resolve and infinite faith into his arteries, giving him a hard fist, a cool head, a hot heart and an unconquerable soul."

General Thomas J. Stewart, late Adjutant General of

Pennsylvania, before the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society in 1910:

"When I look over this place tonight it looks like an annex to the greatest corporation in the world, the Pennsylvania Railroad, made wonderful and great by men who have been or are now members of this society: Thompson, Cassatt, McCrea, Patton, Creighton, and many others, and Dice, of the Reading, who is a member of this society. The Scotch-Irish not only run the railroads, but they run the State. Look here (pointing to the Governor). They not only run the State, but they have got a Scotch-Irishman who is teaching the people of this country how to make chickens lay eggs that will keep fresh for six months—Wilson, the great Secretary of Agriculture. Then they have a member of this Society in Washington who is saying to all nations in the Irish vernacular, 'Don't you tread on the tail of our coat,' our friend, Senator Knox, now Secretary of State. They are not content with running the railroads and the State and the government, but they are running the courts, and when they cannot do any one of these things they go to the police force. I heard of a Scotchman who was on the police force in London, and he was told to keep the highway clear, that some of the royal family were to pass that way at a certain hour in the day. He had done very well, kept the street very well cleared. Finally a carriage drove up. He went out and stopped it. The lady said, 'What are you doing sir? I am the wife of a cabinet minister. I must pass.' He said, 'I am very sorry, madam, but you could not pass if you were the wife of a *Presbyterian* minister.' If they cannot get on the police force they run trolleys. I heard of a Scotchman who was a conductor on a trolley line. He had not been on very long, but he was faithful and trusty. One morning a Jew, understanding that they made long trips for five cents, stepped up and said, 'Where can I go to with five cents?' The Scotchman looked at him and said, 'What is that you say?' 'Where can I go to with five cents?' The Scotchman said, 'I dinna like to tell ye.' "

Those of you who attended the large meeting of this Historical Society at the William Penn Hotel on October

thirty-first, 1916, on the occasion of the Pittsburgh Charter Centennial, will remember the address of ex-Governor William E. MacCorkle of West Virginia on "The Historical and Other Relations of Pittsburgh and the Virginias."

This was a joint meeting of the Society and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. As President of the latter body, I was chairman of the meeting.

The Governor, who in Pittsburgh has many admirers, graciously sent me an autograph copy of his address.

This same gentleman addressed the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society on February twenty-first, 1919, and I give you some extracts from his address on that occasion:

"Would you pardon just one word about myself so I can explain why I feel here at home? My father was William MacCorkle and my mother was Mary Morrison, and my great- great-grandfather on one side and my great-great-grandfather on the other side helped to open the gates at Londonderry; their great grandfathers on both sides stood in the mist at Greyfriars and put their hands to the Covenant, and their children have at all times in the moors and the lowlands and the highlands, in the fields of Northern Ireland and in Pennsylvania and Virginia, felt that their hands were still to the Covenant. I do not say this in any spirit of self-gratulation, but I am here among people who are bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh, and that which touches my people touches you just as deeply. . . .

"Pennsylvania has been from the beginning in such close touch with Virginia. The men who really made Virginia, the Scotch-Irish, largely came through Pennsylvania. God bless Pennsylvania! Wherever Liberty has wanted a champion, wherever Christianity has wanted a lance there has been old Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, you know the Scotch-Irish have not had a square deal in history. They have not been mentioned as they should have been as part and parcel of the fundamental life and action of our country. That is easily understood if you will consider a moment. The Scotch-Irish did not come to this country as the Huguenots did, or as the Quakers, the Puritans, the Cavaliers. These last people came as a distant entity, with distinct places in view, holding together as the Puritans did in New

England, as the Quakers in Pennsylvania, as the Huguenots in the South. The Scotch-Irish came by the thousands, it is true, but they came here and there, at this port and that port, at this time and at that time, scattering over the land on the inland, and thus they never achieved that spirit of entity which gave historical character to the other great classes of immigrants I have mentioned.

"As a matter of fact I hope to show they have been the foundation stone of Liberty in this country. They have been at the crisis in every great event in American history, but they have not been mentioned as the Puritans have for the reason I have given. They were not there as an army of Scotch-Irish, but they were in the majority of the armies of the Republic.

"This has been a very peculiar situation. Take Virginia, for example: They made Virginia. The people of the eastern shore of the tidewater counties, of the James River, York and Rappannock have written the histories, but the Scotch-Irish who destroyed the law of primogeniture, who separated Church and State, who backed Patrick Henry in the passage of his resolutions for freedom, who furnished the majority of soldiers in the States in the Revolution, are not mentioned. Only lately have they been taken hold of as an entity, understood as part and parcel of the underlying and active life of this Republic....

"Now after the war began, let us see our real influence on the battlefields. Until lately the numerical power of the Scotch-Irish has not been known. I am indebted to Judge Temple, of our own blood and bone, who has done more than any other person to obtain facts as to the numerical power of the Scotch-Irish in the Revolution. The facts are incontrovertible and show that our people had a majority of the soldiers of the Revolution. The action of the histories in minimizing the Scotch-Irish has not been particularly intentional. It arose largely from the peculiar situation; the Scotch-Irish did not stay on the seashore—the shores were largely occupied; they were not particularly well treated by the Quakers when they came to Pennsylvania and the consequence was that they went to the interior where they felled the forests, plowed the land, built churches, school houses

and colleges. But as a matter of fact they did not build great cities, they did not sail ships on the high seas. They were engaged in the great formative processes in the interior which did not dramatically appeal to the historian as did the building of cities on the seashore and sailing ships over the broad waters. They were in name in control of no State; yet they were the large majority and absolutely controlled many states—not in name but in fact and reality....

"The Scotch-Irish numbered at that time in all the Colonies 900,000, making them the most numerous people in this country. Their numbers have not been appreciated. Between 1728 and 1775 there arrived 12,000 annually in Philadelphia alone. If they had doubled in number in that time they would have amounted to a million people.

"They did not land only in Philadelphia. They landed everywhere and the immigration continued from 1700 until the revolution. From these facts it is obvious that prior to 1775 there were 500,000 of the Scotch-Irish and Scotch settled in the Colonies. Say they had been here an average of 30 years; it can be assumed they had increased at least 80 per cent. making them not less than 900,000 people in 1775.

"They practically controlled Virginia; Delaware and New Jersey had a great Sctoch-Irish population. They were one-third of Pennsylvania; in North and South Carolina they were in control; they controlled Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia. They contributed a majority of the soldiers from the State of Pennsylvania and this was the truth of the States south of Pennsylvania....

"I wish there were time this evening to state all the reasons to show you that a majority of the troops in the army of the Revolution throughout the whole country south of Pennsylvania were Scotch-Irish. This seems beyond any question to be the fact. Throughout the war they bore a wonderful part. From the beginning to the end their rifles flashed in the thickest of the fire. I repeat, it is remarkable how they have been left out of history.

"After the war of the Revolution, the great reforms in Virginia doing away with the law of the primogeniture and the union of Church and State were brought about by Thomas Jefferson, backed by the solid vote of the Scotch-

Irish of the valley of Virginia and the Piedmont region, thus emphasizing their desire for freedom and equality of right of religious freedom. . . .

"In this day of changed ideas and moralizing tendencies, the country needs the faith and the religion of the Scotch-Irish. No Scotch-Irishman ever marched under a red flag, and no Scotch-Irishman believes in the destructive social tendencies of the day. They cling with ardor unabated to the holiness of the Sabbath day; they cling to the Bible and want it as it was given to them by the fathers—unexpurgated and in its nakedness and truth. They ask for no continental Sabbath Day; they ask for no emasculated Ten Commandments, and the men and women who are taught the Shorter Catecism have been men whose honesty was unquestioned and women whose purity was above suspicion. . . .

"If you ask what they have done, look around you. States have been created, churches have been built, lands have been tilled, and schoolhouse, college, church and sacred home have been typical of these people who in modesty and silence have wrought the wonders of this great Republic. They have builded in faith and their faith has been justified; and when the storm comes, as it comes to all free people, there will be found our people, staunch and true and holding to the faith of their fathers, yet able to intelligently grasp the conditions which are thrust upon them in the great world change which will continually and surely be for the best of all peoples which are on earth.'

And now, last but not least of these extracts, one which I consider a fine tribute to the Woman Pioneer; the woman, who is much too often overlooked when history is written.

Dr. Henry C. McCook, of Philadelphia, author of *The Latimers; or, The History of the Whiskey Insurrection*, at the Scotch-Irish Congress in 1896 said of the Scotch-Irish women pioneers:

"In these humble log huts began the work of home building, constructing that prime factor of all strong and good social order, the family. The family is the unit of society, the true basis of the best civilization; and in pioneer family building woman was the chief architect. The husband indeed must fend and fight for wife and weans, for steading

and glebe; he must shoot game, and chop down trees, and clear up fields and plant grain; but the duty and burden of home-making fell upon the wife and mother. And well our Scotch-Irish pioneers did their work.

"What sort of plenishing had these frontier heroines for their new cabin homes? Let us take a sample from a journal of one of these emigrants, written nearly one hundred and twenty years ago:

"There was neither bedstead nor stool nor chair nor bucket; no domestic comfort but such as could be carried on pack horses through the wilderness. Two rough boxes, one on the other, served as a table; two kegs for seats; 'and so,' said the journalist, 'having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread our bed on the floor and slept soundly until morning. The next day, a neighbor coming to our assistance, we made a table and stool, and in a little time had everything comfortable about us. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks together; but we had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and all the necessities of life.'

"Pumpkins and potatoes! Necessities of life! Such was the home welcome of the Scotch-Irish bride of a Scotch-Irish minister who became one of the most eminent men in our history, Dr. John McMillan. However, the journalist adds: 'Such luxuries we were not much concerned about. We enjoyed health, the gospel and its ordinances, and pious friends. We were in the place where we thought God would have us to be, and did not doubt that he would provide everything necessary, and, glory be to his name! we were not disappointed.'

"The original settlers, of course, did not even have the luxuries of 'pumpkins and potatoes,' to begin their culinary duties therewith. They had, in sooth, to invent a cuisine. Everything must be begun anew. The wild fruits, wild berries, and wild game and the fish of the New World were utilized. Indian corn was a new cereal to these Ulster housewives; but it had to be wrought into the primitive menu, mush and milk! It was a novel sort of porridge for our grandames, but they learned to make it. Can you make it, O colonial dames and daughters of the Revolution, who owe all or a goodly moiety of your right to wear the badges

of these patriotic orders to the Scotch-Irish heroines who sent their husbands and sons into the ranks of Washington's clonials? If not, make haste to learn, for the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society has adopted mush and milk, or 'pioneer porridge,' for the typical racial dish, as our New England brethren have adopted baked beans and brown bread! Ah! some of us can yet behold in vision of childhood the golden yellow paste bubbling and puffing in the great pot, and the rosy-cheeked Scotch-Irish dame, with a frill of white hairs around her broad brow, stirring the sputtering, savory mess with a big wooden spoon, or serving it out in bowls of creamy milk. O mush and milk! Pioneer porridge for aye! Next morning, fried mush with wild honey from a near-by tree! Or pone bread, or Johnnycake, or Indian meal griddle cakes! That was not all of the new cereal, for—O ye gastronomic divinities!—there were roasting ears and succotash.

"Can an Irish woman do without her 'cop o' tay?' Go ask your 'kitchen ladies,' ye descendants of the pioneers. But how got your ancestress 'tay' in that wilderness? She extemporized a tea plant from the root of sassafras, and over its steaming pungency dreamed of the savory herb of far Cathay, and imagination did the rest! As to sugar, she had discovered the sugar maple, and her sugar plantation and sirup refinery were in the adjoining grove. Let this suffice: from a few dishes learn all!! Not the least claim which our Scotch-Irish ancestress has to a substantial and permanent fame is that she invented a new and delectable system of cookery! Doubtless if this fact can be surely fixed in the convictions of the lords of creation, they will straightway build the woman pioneer a monument, and will garnish it with carved and bronze cooking utensils. For, is it not known (among womenkind at least) that 'the dearest spot' in 'home, sweet home,' 'the dearest spot on earth' to most of us, is to the average male—the dinner table!

"Cooking was not the only sphere that solicited her creative faculty. The pioneer woman had to invent a pharmacopoeia. Wounds and sickness came, and must be cared for. The forest was full of healing 'yarbs,' if she could only

find them. And some of them she did find—and perhaps our octogenarian members still have recollections of ginseng and snakeroot teas, and slippery elm poultices, and the like. The woman pioneer had to be physician and surgeon, trained nurse and apothecary, all in one, and often supplied the patient, too, in her own person.

"In times of personal sickness, and during the illness of children, the strain upon women thus situated must have been intense. Such a life indeed developed self-reliance, fertility of resources, strong and independent characters; but many fell under the grievous strain, and thus became veritable martyrs of civilization. 'They died without the sight.' They lie, like the heroes who died on many a foughten field for liberty and human rights, in 'unknown graves.' But their works do follow them. They are the nameless heroines of history, like the Syrophenician woman, and the widow of Sarepta, and the widow who gave her mites unto the treasury, and the 'other women' which did minister unto Jesus. We know only their deeds, the rich fruitage of their lives. Their names are hidden from the eyes of history, but they shine in eternal luster upon the recording angel's book of benefactors of mankind."

And now to sum up, the Scotch-Irish, whether in Ulster or in the United States, in Canada or in South Africa, in Australia or in the Islands of the Pacific, and they are everywhere, may be depended upon to do their part in the progress of Christianity and Civilization—they are not demagogists or propagandists, they stand for no red flag, but have a deep and abiding faith in the future and an unfailing fidelity to the vision and the ideals of the English-speaking people.

Believing in the Magna Charta and the Common Law as the common inheritance of all Anglo-Saxons, they are unique among races for the constancy of their devotion to government and its institutions. They believe in civil, religious and intellectual liberty, as typified by the flag, the Bible and the public school. In every land in which they dwell, and at all times and under all circumstances, they stand for faith

and loyalty and all of the other cardinal virtues. They are the foremost defenders of what is right; and what is right, must be lasting.

"God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

Robert Garland

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND THE MORRILL TARIFF*

The tariff has always been a controversial subject in American politics. As sections developed and their activities changed, their ideas concerning the tariff also changed. The Southern states so long as they hoped to build up an industrial system, tended toward protection, but when such a system based on slave labor was found to be an impossibility, they upheld free-trade. This change took place in 1828 and from that time on free-trade and extension of slavery became the cornerstones of Southern principles. (1) The cause of this about face of the South may be found in the fact that protection seemed to benefit in a special way the manufactures of Pennsylvania, New York and New England. (2) These states were the hot-beds of abolitionist agitation and Southern antipathy would naturally be aroused. The industrial success of the Northern states and the failure of the South to establish manufactures was the cause of much jealousy and of the growth of a desire to hinder the North by agitation of a free-trade program. (3)

Following the 'Tariff of Abominations' and the attempted Nullification of South Carolina in 1832, the Compromise Tariff of 1833 was introduced whereby the rates were gradually reduced until 1842 when a protective tariff was passed. This tariff remained in effect until 1846 when a tariff greatly lowering existing rates was passed by Southern men led by Robert J. Walker, then Secretary of the Treasury. (4)

The next tariff legislation was the Act of 1857 which was the closest approach to the free trade ideal in our tariff history. (5) This Bill had generally lower rates than the tariff of 1846 but because of the great number of raw mater-

*Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Pittsburgh as a requirement for the A. M. degree, June, 1922. A paper based on this thesis was read by the author before the Society on May 31, 1922.

ials put on the free list it was supported by the manufacturing states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New England. (6) This fact was later used by the Democrats of Pennsylvania to show that the record of the Republicans on the tariff question was not consistent.

During these years of free-trade the country prospered greatly and the fact was established that a protective tariff is not necessary for the growth of our manufacturing industries. (7) The drift toward free trade had gone far and it is impossible to determine to what extent it would have gone had it not been checked by the financial depression of 1857 and by the necessity growing out of the Civil War. (8)

Even Pennsylvania had ceased to a large extent protectionist agitation during these years. The Panic of 1857, which followed directly upon the passage of the new tariff act, and which particularly affected the iron producing sections, was a potent factor in strengthening the cause of protection. (9)

The Panic was attributed by the North entirely to the free-trade policy then in existence and opposition began to form for the first time in a decade.

The Panic of 1857 in iself was short-lived but its financial results were severe. (10) Naturally Pennsylvania was among the states most affected. Her trend toward protection is seen in the attitude of her President, James Buchanan, who was elected on the free-trade platform of 1856 but was active in agitating a tariff which would afford incidental protection.

In his first annual message of December 1857 he emphasized the serious financial condition of the country, (11) but favored no change in the tariff legislation as "the tariff of 1857 has been in operation for so short a period and under circumstances so unfavorable to a just development of its result as a revenue measure that it would be inexpedient, at least at present, to undertake a revision." (12)

In his message of the next year he advocated incidental protection afforded by a revenue tariff which "would at the present moment to some extent increase the confidence of the manufacturing interests and give a fresh impulse to our reviving business." (13)

In his last message he continued the advocacy of an increased tariff stating that "it is quite evident that the financial necessities of the government will require a modification of the tariff during the present session." (14)

Buchanan was undoubtedly influenced by the public opinion of his state, (15) where all parties were unanimous in upholding the tariff and were asking for increased rates.

Business conditions revived during the three years following the panic and by 1860 another season of prosperity had begun and would undoubtedly have continued had it not been checked by political trouble and the war. (16)

In this year Pennsylvania once more regained her position and produced one-half of the iron made in the whole country. (17) The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* for January 2nd, 1860, in reviewing the past year, states that "in Pittsburg manufacturing interests have revived, commerce and trade extended and a public spirit has developed in the erection of substantial business blocks unprecedented in our past history." (18)

Protectionist agitation did not cease and the *Dispatch* of the 25th of January advises its readers "to look out for a visit from tight times. He comes oftener than seven year locusts and the Asiatic cholera. Nobody knows exactly how to deal with him. Some people prescribe high tariffs, some specie currency and others greater caution and economy. But no one takes the prescription. We have free-trade, paper funds and general extravagance." (19)

As a result of this continued agitation on the part of the Keystone and other manufacturing states the Morill Tariff Bill was introduced into the House in March 1860. Politics entered largely into the introduction of the Bill at this time. Taussig, in his *Tariff History*, says: "It was introduced undoubtedly with the intention of attracting to the Republican party at the approaching presidential election, votes in Pennsylvania and other states that had protectionist leanings." (20)

The Bill was introduced by Justin S. Morrill, a Representative from Vermont and a member of the Ways and Means Committee. "Mr. Morrill was eminently well-fitted to prepare a tariff bill. He had been engaged in trade and com-

merce, was a man of sound judgment, perfectly impartial and honest. Representing a small agriculture state, he was not biased by sectional feeling or interests of his constituents. He regarded tariff not only as a method of taxation but as a method of protection of the existing industries in the United States with a view to encouraging and increasing domestic production." (21)

Mr. Morrill realized that there was no chance of passing a strong protectionist bill as the Senate was Democratic. (22) In his explanation of the Bill in the House he emphasized that "no prohibitory duties have been aimed at; but to place the people upon a level of fair competition with the rest of the world is thought to be no more than reasonable." (23) The principal argument for the Morrill Bill was not the need of protection but of revenue. (24)

The first part of the Bill called for "the payment of outstanding Treasury notes and to authorize a loan." (25) The loan was not to exceed twenty millions and was to be used only for appropriations made by law and to liquidate the outstanding Treasury notes issued during the crisis of 1857. (26)

The most important feature of the Bill was to increase the revenue. The increase was to be brot about chiefly thru the change from ad valorem to specific rates. (27) This change was in line with the recommendations of President Buchanan (28) and therefore met the approval of all Pennsylvania's Democratic Representatives.

According to the provisions of the Bill, duties on sugar, spirits, cigars, tobacco, iron, coal, wool and its products and numerous other articles were specific with a small ad valorem duty added in some few instances. The tariff was further simplified by fixing three schedules for articles upon which ad valorem duty was placed, making the duty ten, twenty, and thirty percent according to the classification of the article. The free list was quite extensive including asphalt, cocoa, coffee, tea and cotton. (29) Tho the Bill was not in a strict sense a protective measure, the change from ad-valorem to specific rates afforded incidental protection and secured the revenue against false and fraudulent invoices.

The Bill does not hold a place with the other great tariff bills of our financial history due to the fact that it was superseded by the Act of August 5th, 1860 before its results could be determined. (30) It is significant, however; it marked the end toward free trade and the beginning of protectionist legislation. Had it not been for the engrossing political struggles at this time the Morrill Bill would have marked an era in history. (31)

The Bill is also significant because of its political effect. It was doubtless introduced to attract votes to the Republican party. (32) In this the Bill was successful as the united stand of the Republicans for the Bill in the House showed them to be the better tariff party and determined to a large extent the vote in Pennsylvania.

The Bill, passed after secession, exerted an international effect in that it had some influence upon relationship between Great Britain and the United States. A protective tariff would naturally antagonize Europe especially as the Confederacy supported free-trade legislation.

An editorial in the *London Times* emphasized this fact; "It will not be our fault if the inopportune legislation of the North combined with the reciprocity of wants between ourselves and the South should bring about considerable modification in our relations with America." (33) This fact is given further force by a letter from John Lathrop Motley, in which he wrote, "I am obliged to say that there has been a change in English sympathy since the passing of the Morrill Tariff Bill. That measure has done more than any commissioner from the Southern Republic could do to alienate the feelings of the English people towards the United States." (34)

The Confederate agents used the opposition to protection to advantage in their endeavors for recognition. They went so far as to state that it was the protective tariff, upon which the North insisted, that made it necessary for the South to secede. (35) Of course in the final analysis these facts exerted small influence, but they are injected here to show the importance of the tariff at this time.

The Morrill Bill is unique in several ways: first in that it was to an extent a protective measure, passed when pro-

tective sentiment was confined to a few states, and made a law by a President who was elected on a free-trade platform; second, that it met with such strong opposition as to make necessary numerous amendments which so changed it that its author was inclined to abandon it; (36) and third, that it was not passed until Southern Senators had withdrawn from Congress. (37)

In the following history of the Bill in the House and Senate I have endeavored first to give such general facts in regard to the Bill as will show the opposition in either House and the reasons for it and then to deal especially with the position of Western Pennsylvania's Representatives and Pennsylvania's Senators on the Bill.

The Morrill Bill met with much opposition in the House and would have in all probability failed if it had not been for the successful management of John Sherman, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. (38)

The first attempt to introduce the Bill was made by Mr. Morrill on March 12th. After the reading of the title there was much discussion. The question was asked by Mr. Houston of Alabama, who became one of the great opponents of the Bill, "Is this a Tariff Bill?" Mr. Morrill answered; "For that and other purposes." He then moved that the rules be suspended so that he could report the Bill. The vote was taken, but a two third vote was necessary, and as this was not procured the bill was not reported. The whole Pennsylvania delegation voted for suspension. (39)

On the next day Mr. Sherman endeavored to introduce the Bill. Messers Cobb, McQueen, and Houston, all Southern Democrats, objected on the grounds that the appropriation bills should be introduced first. After much discussion the Bill was not reported on this ground. (40) Mr. Morrill finally succeeded in reporting the Bill on March 19th and having it referred to the Committee of the Whole and ordered to be printed. (41) On March 28th Mr. Sherman offered a resolution that the Bill be taken up for discussion on April 4th and continued until disposed of. He gave warning that he intended to rush the Bill. (42)

On April 5th the House, in the Committee of the Whole, discussed the Bill after a number of other bills had been

passed over. (43) The Bill was referred to briefly almost every day but nothing definite was done. On April 23rd, Mr. Morrill in a long address defended the Bill. (44) This address has been referred to above and contained elaborate arguments as to the necessity of the Bill for revenue and also numerous tables and data which showed the advisability of specific duties.

After this address the debate became general. Numerous amendments were prepared and presented. Among them was one by Mr. Florence, a Pennsylvania Democrat (45) who proposed numerous changes, practically reverting to the rates of 1846. Nothing was done following this suggestion.

Beginning with May 7th the debate became hotly contested. Mr. Sherman was untiring in his efforts for the Bill and tried all means to prevent the numerous amendments which were changing its nature. On the 7th he addressed the House. He said in part: "In my judgment Mr. Morrill's Bill is a great improvement on the tariff of 1857. It is more certain, it is more definite. It gives specific duties. It is more simple. It conforms to our decimal currency and duties under it are easily calculated." (46)

On the 8th there were numerous attempts by Houston of Alabama and Millson of Virginia to change the character of the Bill. (47) The argument was based on the inadvisability of protection. Mr. Morrill in answer to Houston upheld the Bill at length, proving advisability of protection by statistics. (48) Mr. Houston claimed that the protection of iron was unnecessary. Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania opposed these statements showing by statistics that the iron industry in Pennsylvania was failing. (49)

The next days were taken up by filibustering, the Democrats using all means available to prevent a vote. The amendments were so numerous and the Bill so changed that Mr. Morrill was disposed to abandon it to its fate. At this juncture the parliamentary skill of Mr. Sherman saved the Bill. Mr. Sherman suggested to Mr. Morrill that he offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute. To that amendment Sherman offered as an amendment a bill which embodied nearly all the original bill as reported. (50) This

brot matters to a head as no other amendments could be made. A vote was taken on May 11th after filibustering and political argument had postponed it for several days. The final vote on the Morrill Bill was Yeas 105 and Nays 64. (51)

I have not so far referred in the history of the Bill in the House to the part taken by Western Pennsylvania Representatives in the debate. From the *Congressional Globe* I conclude that the Representatives were of mediocre caliber as they took no active part in the discussions, tho they voted consistently, regardless of party, for the Bill. Of the Pennsylvania Representatives twenty were Republicans and five were Democrats. (52) All supported the Bill. Of the Representatives from Western Pennsylvania Steward of Mercer, Hall of Warren, Babbitt of Erie, Moorhead and McKnight of Pittsburgh were Republicans while Montgomery of Washington was a Democrat. (53) Of these, Montgomery, Moorhead and McKnight were the only ones who took any part whatever in the discussions.

James T. Moorhead, Representative from the 22nd district, made a speech on March 8th, before the introduction of the Bill, in which he made a strong plea for protection. (54) He showed that the excess of imports over exports was steadily increasing and asked for a tariff that would foster and protect our own manufacturers and give employment to our labor at home. He upheld the Republican measures of harbor improvements and railroad expansion. In conclusion he said: "Let us improve our rivers and harbors, build one or more railroads to the Pacific, giving employment to thousands of laborers, binding together our union with bands of American steel. Let us spread and diffuse manufacturing skill throughout the states, North and South, so that we may rely more upon ourselves and less upon foreign merchants and we will soon find that sectional disunion will dissappear and we will occupy the position among nations that God and nature intended we should." (55) This is exactly the kind of an address one would expect a Pittsburgh Representative to make.

Mr. Moorhead took no further part in the debates on the Morrill Bill except to engage in a partisan argument

with Mr. Florence, Democrat from Philadelphia as to the party responsible for the tariff of 1846. (56) This emphasizes the fact which will be brought out later, that the tariff was no issue in Pennsylvania, except that each party endeavored to prove their party the better tariff adherent.

The *Gazette* (57) and the *Chronicle* (58) commended Mr. Moorhead for his position on the Bill. The *Gazette* of April 28th says: "This able Representative from Allegheny is devoting all his great energies to the tariff question and wields considerable influence in the House." This statement was probably intended to secure votes for Mr. Moorhead at the coming election. He was nominated by the Republican Convention held May 3rd. In his acceptance of the nomination he referred to the fact that "the Democratic party has placed itself on record during the past winter in opposition to that beneficent measure," (the Morill Bill) .(59)

Robert McKnight, the other Representative from Pittsburgh, made one address on the floor of the House in the interest of protection. (60) The keynote of the address is found in the opening sentence; "It can hardly be denied that the country is the most prosperous which produces within her borders the articles useful to her citizens." (61) The *Chronicle* referred to the address as a "vindication of the rights of free labor, in favor of protection and tending to show that the Republican party is not the sectional party of the country." (62)

The partisan nature of the tariff question is again emphasized, as McKnight devoted much of his time to showing that the Democrats did not uphold protection. The *Dispatch* in a long editorial on his address, stated that "he proceeds to explode the fallacies upon which the advocates of free-trade base their opposition to protection." (63)

The *Washington Reporter*, Republican, does not think that Mr. McKnight's record was very consistent on the tariff. "Notwithstanding his loud-mouthed professions on the tariff," they stated, "his record is not such as to inspire Pennsylvania with any great degree of pride; it seems that just at the trying moment he is either absent or seized with a sudden fit of hunger as to render him incapable of service." (64) In my examination of the *Globe* I have found

Mr. McKnight absent on only a few minor occasions, such as votes on adjournments or on a few minor amendments.

William Montgomery, the Democratic Representative from Washington, voted consistently on such occasions as he was present, tho he was absent for several days during the debate, being in attendance at the Charleston Convention. (65)

Before the House was organized Mr. Montgomery delivered an address, referring to the position of the various candidates for the Speakership on the tariff. (66) Mr. Montgomery supported Babcock as against Sherman. The *Washington Reporter* flayed him mercilessly for his stand. The *Reporter* said: "To the old Whig element of the Republican party Montgomery appealed on the score of his devotion to the doctrine of protection to domestic industry and especially to the great interests of Pennsylvania. He was a tariff man in the strictest sense. A most consistent tariff man, indeed! Instead of living up to the assurances he gave prior to the election he votes from the start for Mr. Babcock for speaker—a man who has been noted for his steadfast and persistent devotion to free-trade." (67) This attack is justified in part but depends on the question, what is protection? Mr. Babcock voted for the tariff of 1846 while Mr. Sherman supported the tariff of 1857 which was still closer to the free-trade ideal. (68)

The *Post* claimed that Montgomery had proved himself to be a true friend of protection in the debate regarding the election of Speaker. They reported that "Mr. Montgomery stood most nobly for the interest of Pennsylvania and American labor." (69)

After the opposition noted above the *Reporter* has nothing more to say concerning Montgomery's position on the tariff. It criticised him most bitterly for his vote against the Homestead Bill, referring to him as the "only man north of the Mason-Dixon line to oppose the Bill" and calling him "a traitor to the cause." (70)

However, during the debate on the Morrill Bill, Montgomery voted consistently and made several strong remarks favoring the measure. On May 9th he said: "I regard the tariff not as a political question but as a national question

on which all men of all parties agree and should act consistently. I am in favor of the tariff and so are the Democracy of my state and I will not permit anyone to read us out of the Democracy or lecture us on our stand." (71)

The *Washington Review*, Democrat, sums up Montgomery's position: "During the discussion of the Bill in the House, it was steadily opposed by a number of members from different parts of the Union and Mr. Montgomery was always found battling for the success of the act that reestablished the protection extended by our manufacturers by the tariff of 1846. (72)

In the Senate the Bill met even more opposition than in the House. The Bill was announced on May 11th. On motion it was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance. (73) On June 13th it was reported by Mr. Hunter of Virginia, a member of the Finance Committee, who moved that the consideration of the Bill be postponed until the second Monday in December. (74)

On June 14th the Bill was taken up by the Senate as the Committee of the Whole. (75) The question of postponement was discussed for several days. Mr. Hunter who led the opposition gave several reasons for postponement;—First—this was not a propitious time as politics would enter into the consideration to too great a degree. Second—there was no financial necessity for changing the present system. (76)

A vote was taken on the motion for postponement which was passed by a vote of twenty-five yeas and twenty-three nays. Senator Cameron and Bigler, the Pennsylvania Senators, voted against the postponement. (77) On the same day Senator Slidell of Louisiana proposed that a committee be appointed to report such modifications of the Bill on the second Monday in December as they deemed proper. (78)

On the 16th Mr. Powell of Kentucky moved for a reconsideration of the vote by which the discussion of the Bill was postponed. (79) No action was taken but the supporters of the Bill continued their efforts to have the Bill considered.

On the 20th of June the motion to reconsider the postponement of the Bill was passed, Bigler and Cameron voting

for reconsideration. (80) The opposition endeavored to change contents of the Bill, Mr. Lane of Oregon attempting to introduce a substitute which would have reinstated the rates of 1846. (81)

Pennsylvania's Senators endeavored to aid the Bill by various motions. Mr. Bigler moved that all other bills be passed over so that the Tariff Bill could be considered immediately. (82) Mr. Cameron attempted to have the session prolonged a week so that the Bill might be considered. (83) Both these motions were unsuccessful and the Senate adjourned, in spite of the activities of the Pennsylvania Senators, without action on the Bill (84) which they deemed of such great importance.

On the 11th of December the Morrill Bill was again called up in the Senate. There was again much opposition to its consideration, Senator Cameron upholding it. By a vote of thirty-nine to thirty-seven it was moved that the Bill be considered. (85)

Other more serious questions now engaged the attention of the Senate. Secession was imminent and it was impossible for the measure to pass. When the vote was finally taken on February 20th the Southerners had left the Senate in sufficient number to give a Republican majority in that body. (86) The final vote was twenty-four to fourteen in favor of the Bill, (87) Bigler was the only Democrat who voted for the Bill, while no Republican opposed it. (88)

Opposition to the Bill had not ceased with the Southerners leaving the Senate. The opposition however took another trend. It was now led by Senator Douglas of Illinois who based his argument on the inauspicious time for such legislation. (89) Senator Bigler answered Douglas several times. He endeavored to show in his remarks that there was an absolute need of additional revenue. (90) The Democrats on the whole admitted the need of additional revenue but desired a tariff for that purpose only. (91) However, after numerous attempts to return to the rates of 1846, the Bill, as noted above, was passed.

During the debate numerous amendments had been passed. A joint committee was appointed from both houses to agree on the amendments. Messers Simmons, Bigler and Hunter acted on the part of the Senate and Messers Sher-

man, Phelps and Moorhead on the part of the House. (92) A favorable report was received and the President affixed his signature to the Bill on the 2nd of March, (93) two days before the expiration of his term.

The activities of Pennsylvania's Senators have been mentioned above. Both Bigler and Cameron voted consistently. Mr. Bigler was influenced largely by the position of President Buchanan and served as the administration mouth-piece during the debate.

The opposition papers in Pittsburg and Philadelphia accuse Mr. Bigler of duplicity in regard to his stand on the Bill. (94) This fact cannot be substantiated. He always opposed the postponement of the Bill and endeavored in all ways possible to have the Bill passed.

His speeches and motions in the Senate also refute this charge. In his speech on June 20th his position was unmistakable. He said in part: "I have hitherto said that I am willing to take up this question of tariff as a business question. I have long expressed a desire that it be taken out of the ordinary party scrambles. I may be mistaken, sir, but I have acted in the firm belief that it is necessary as a measure of revenue to increase the means of the government. I am for a readjustment of the tariff." (95)

The Republican dailies were compelled to give him some recognition for his part played in the debate. In an editorial, the *Chronicle* stated that, "Mr. Bigler is doing all he can to push the Bill to a successful conclusion." (96) The *Chronicle* also reported that Senators Bigler and Cameron spent several hours with Representative Morrill endeavoring to devise means of passing the Tariff Bill. (97)

Mr. Cameron, the Republican Senator, also exerted much influence for the Bill, voting consistently and using his great ability as a lobbyist to have the measure passed. He always emphasized the importance of protection to the welfare of industry. In one of his remarks he gave a very graphic statement of the importance of the Tariff in Pennsylvania. He stated; "To Pennsylvania this is the great question of the day, it is our nigger." (98)

In another address, Mr. Cameron showed the gain in specie during the years of protective tariff and the consequent loss under the free-trade policy. He urged protection

and traced financial depressions to free-trade legislation. (99)

Several conclusions can be drawn from the discussion of the relations of Western Pennsylvania's Congressmen to the Morrill Bill. None of the Representatives took a prominent part in the debate, but the fact that the delegation was unanmous shows the importance of protection in Pennsylvania. When it is remembered that the tariff question was at this time a strict party issue the stand of Pennsylvania's Democratic Representatives and Senator takes on added significance.

It is very interesting to follow the editorials in the four leading Pittsburgh papers as they note the progress of the Bill. The comment below is arranged chronologically with reference to the facts as they have been discussed above in the history of the Bill.

The *Daily Post*, the Democratic organ in Pittsburgh, showed the adherence of Pennsylvania Democracy to the Bill during the debate in the House in numerous editorials. In the early days of the debate the *Post* stated that, "the Bill appears to suit the people of Pennsylvania, both Democrats and Republicans will stand by the Bill." (100) It further claimed that the Democracy of Pennsylvania were "as sound on the tariff question as ever the Republicans were." (101)

On the other hand the *Gazette*, the Republican organ, continually called attention to the fact that, "the Democratic party as represented in Congress has put itself on record as against a tariff so framed as to afford incidental protection to suffering American industry." (102) The filibustering of the Democrats during the last days of the debate was condemned as the unmanly way in which "The minority in the House may entirely prevent the passage of the Bill during the present session." (103) The *Gazette* also spoke of the possible advantage the non-settlement of the tariff question would be to the Republicans in the coming election but "prefers the interest of the Commonwealth and would gladly see the question removed from politics by the passage of the Bill." (104)

When the Bill was finally passed on May 11th all papers united in praising the action. The *Chronicle* rejoiced "to learn that the protective measure has passed the House by

a large majority____Sufficient glory for one day." (105) The *Post* proclaimed the passage in as favorable a tone and commended the measure as one which "affords additional protection and will be of great benefit to Pennsylvania." (106)

The *Gazette*, on July 9th, charged Senator Bigler with duplicity in regard to the Bill. In a long editorial, in which the New York *Tribune* was quoted freely, it revealed a scheme in which the Democratic Senator was to propose another Bill, protective to the extreme, which was bound to be defeated in the Senate but which would aid the Democratic cause in Pennsylvania. The *Gazette* referred to Bigler as "the dirty tool with which the Senate desires to defeat the Morrill Bill." (107) The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* confirmed the plot, quoting the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. (108) The scheme was not carried out, as has been proven by Bigler's record discussed above. The *Gazette* later referred to Bigler's stand but does so in a minimizing tone stating that "the feeble voice of Bigler alone of all the Democratic Senators has been raised in behalf of protection, but no one heeds what he says, not even in his own party." (109)

All papers regretted the postponement of the Bill. The *Post* sought to exonerate its party by stating that "the failure has not occurred thru the negligence of Pennsylvania Democrats." (110) The *Gazette*, on the other hand, stated that the Bill was shelved "because Democracy and Slavery are inseparably welded and the control of the one must always be turned to promoting the interest of the other. Free labor can find protection only by over-turning the pro-slavery Democracy and the solution of the tariff question is therefore happily hastened by the dissolution of the Democratic party." (111)

The *Chronicle*, upon the adjournment of Congress, summarized the work accomplished. "Congress adjourned yesterday. We have no tariff, no homestead law, no Pacific Railroad, no abolishment of polygamy, no mileage retrenchment. Go home now and be good boys. School is over." (112)

When Congress adjourned in December the election was over and we find no comment of importance on the Bill. These quotations however emphasize three facts; first,—

the prominent position of the tariff in the state; second,—the unanimity of the state on the issue; and third,—the tendency of the rival parties to assert theirs to be the better tariff party.

The Pittsburgh papers were also unanimous in upholding the various features of the Bill. All papers concurred in the change from ad valorem to specific duties. The *Post* stated: "An ad valorem tariff protects where protection is least needed. (113) The *Post* has always lent its support to such a tariff of specific duties as Pennsylvania needs." (114) The *Chronicle* held an ad valorem tariff "to be a sliding scale in the wrong direction; it protects when protection is least needed and refuses to protect when the manufacturer is in danger." (115) The *Dispatch*, in emphasizing the protective element of specific rates, stated that, "the lower the price sunk the higher would be the rate percent granted by specific duties." (116)

The *Post* was the only paper, which, tho strongly for protection, feared a cessation of Southern trade and cautioned that continued agitation of protection might cause such a cessation. In the editorial in the issue for April 19th it make this statement: "Our iron, plows, wagons, stoves, glass, manufactured cotton fabrics, steamboats, and a great variety of products, to say nothing of coal seek a market in the South in immense quantities. Is there no danger that the course which the Republican politicians and the newspapers of Allegheny County are pursuing will, if persisted in, seriously damage the interests of the country?" (117)

From these quotations we must conclude that the Morrill Bill was upheld in its entirety by all parties and that public opinion was unanimous, though in some cases more conservative than in others.

Demonstrations and meetings showed the public opinion of the section. Pittsburgh, the center of protection agitation, could not let such a great victory as that of May 11th, when the Morrill Bill passed the House, go without some fitting celebration. The *Chronicle* of the 11th reported that the "Republicans intend to honor the passage of the popular measure by firing from Boyd's hill one hundred and five rounds, the number of ayes for the Bill." (118) In advertising the celebration it advised that they load the

big gun "up to the muzzle and stand away from the touch hole. Let our hills of coal reverberate the sound which proclaims them disenthralled and brought into the glorious service." (119)

A meeting of the Board of Trade was held on the 30th of May for the purpose of taking some action in relation to the Morrill Tariff Bill. A committee of five was appointed to draft a memorial and resolutions on the subject. (120)

The resolutions which were presented and unanimously passed give the opinions of the section so well that it seems pertinent to give them in full.

> "What we ask for, our Representatives and Senators, in Congress, is for an enactment of such a tariff law as will give the largest possible protection to our interests. This we think the bill passed by the House of Representatives and now before the Senate will do. As the Representatives of a great working community, we therefore ask that it become a law.
>
> In our opinion this bill sufficiently guards against the evils which a fluctuation in price and unfair invoices produce under the ad valorum system. From experience of the past ad valorum duties were not consistent with the steadiness which protective industry imperatively demands. Constant fluctuations make it unsafe to invest capital in large amounts in manufacturing business. The man who builds a furnace, a rolling mill, a cotton or woolen factory might almost as well be a tenant at will of his establishment as to be subject to the ups and downs of a constantly fluctuating tariff. We want responsible protection and we want certainty.
>
> Specific duties such as are proposed in the bill now before the Senate stand steadily in the defense of our industrial prosperity. The passage of the bill would give us confidence. All the experience of the past has proven that under tariffs devised to promote the interests of labor and supply the wants of government, those creating specific duties are the most adequate and reliable." (121)

That this opinion was unanimous not only in the western part of Pennsylvania but in the whole state is shown by the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Iron Manufacturers at Philadelphia. They resolved: "First,—that the meeting approve the Morrill Bill; second,—that the part of the bill referring to iron is fair; third,—that this bill will allow American manufacturers to compete with foreigners." (122)

On September 26th, in a political demonstration, the importance of the tariff issue in the election was stressed by the number of banners favoring protection. The *Chronicle* reported the demonstration: " The Pittsburgh Steel Works had a large force out.... In the second wagon was a banner

on which was represented a rolling mill in ruins as the result of free trade and on the other an establishment in a flourishing state as we would have had we protection. The Soho Works had out over thirty workmen in two wagons and bore the banner, 'We will have protection.' Mitchell, Herron & Co. had a banner with the motto 'American Industry must be protected.'" (123)

The County Conventions of January 1860 further show the unique position of the tariff issue. As both parties upheld protection it could not be, strictly speaking, an issue. Each party however attempted by resolutions and addresses to show that they had done more for the tariff than their opponents had done and that their party was the true protective party.

The Allegheny County Conventions were held in January 1860. The 11th resolution passed by the Republicans on January 5th read as follows:

> "11. Resolved that we regard protection to our home industries as one of the cardinal purposes of the national government and that specific duties upon certain articles can alone insure honest execution of the law". (124)

In the resolution passed by the Democratic Convention held January 25th we find the subtle charge that the Republicans were not consistent in their tariff stands.

The resolution read:

> "Resolved that we are in favor of an econominal administration of General and State government and of encouraging domestic manufactures by a repeal of the Republican Tariff of 1857 and a restoration of the Democratic Tariff, modified by the substitution of specific for ad valorum duties as recommended by President Buchanan." (125)

These resolutions show that each party endeavored to make the most out of their respective cases. The tariff question occupies the same unique position in the state elections. Both State Conventions passed tariff resolutions, both candidates for governor made tariff speeches and both went to Washington to endeavor to have the Morrill Bill passed.

The Republican State Convention met in Harrisburg on February 22nd and nominated Andrew Curtin for governor. Their stand for protection was unmistakable and is shown by the following resolution:

> "Resolved that in the enactment of revenue laws by the general government, fair and adequate protection should be systematically afforded to industry of all classes of citizens." (126)

The Democrats in their convention at Reading, March 21, nominated Henry Foster of Greensburg for governor and passed a strict protectionist resolution:

> "Resolved, that the convictions of the Democratic party of Pennsylvania remain unshaken in the wisdom of adequate protection to the coal, wool and great productions of the country. The views of Mr. Buchanan on the subject of specific duties are approved. Our Representatives in Congress are desired to produce such modification of the law as the unwise legislation of the Republicans in 1857 renders necessary to the prosperity of the industrial interests of Pennsylvania." (127)

The Democrats were on the defensive, their record was against them and they must find some means of equalization. This they found in the alleged support of the Republicans for the Tariff of 1857.

The importance of the state election in Pennsylvania in its relation to the national election in November could hardly be overestimated. Pennsylvania had been a Democratic state but due to the importance of the tariff question it was doubtful in this election. The gubernatorial returns would show to a large extent the trend of opinion and aid in the prediction of the result in November.

Both candidates for governor supported the Morrill Bill and made protective addresses during the campaign. Mr. Curtin, the Republican nominee, put forth prominently in his campaign speeches the importance of the protective tariff and argued strongly that it would be adopted by the Republicans but certainly not by the Democrats. (128)

Foster and Curtin both went to Washington when the Morrill Bill was being debated and used their influence in urging that the measure be passed. (129) Mr. Foster met with some of the Southern Democrat Senators in behalf of the Bill. (130)

The *Post* used the activity of Foster in regard to the Morrill Bill as a leading campaign cry. An editorial made the bold claim that, "it was mainly thru his efforts in conjunction with some of the active and prominent Democrats of the House that the bill in question passed that body." (131) It also claimed the Republicans were "unable thus far to show that Mr. Curtin has rendered any important service in this particular." (132)

The *Gazette*, on the other hand, headed its editorials with these words: "Do you want a Protective Tariff, vote for Curtin. Vote for Curtin if you wish to vote on the side of free-labor, if you wish to support American Industry. A vote for Foster is a vote for free-trade. Curtin is for Protection." (133)

Curtin won a decisive victory with a majority of 32,000, largely due James G. Blaine says: "to his able and persuasive presentation of the tariff question and to his effective appeals to the laboring men in the coal and iron section of the state. Governor Curtin gave a far greater proportion of his time to the tariff and financial issues than to all others combined because a majority of her voters believed that the Democratic party tended to free-trade and that the Republican party would espouse and maintain the cause of protection." (134)

All writers concur that this state victory for the Republicans assured the election of Lincoln in November. (135) This state election clearly demonstrated the strong hold the principle of protection had upon the affections of the people.

Tariff was bound to play an important part in the national election in Pennsylvania. It was a minor issue in all other states. (136) Naturally there was no mention of it in either platform of the two branches of the Democracy. There had been an attempt by the Pennsylvania Democrats to introduce such a plank into the Charleston Platform. (137) Copies of the Resolutions passed at the State Convention at Reading were presented to the Convention. (138a.) These resolutions were not acted upon as the Charleston Convention soon disbanded. There was no reference to the tariff in the platforms which were later passed by the two branches of the Democracy, both upholding the Cincinatti free-trade plank. (138b.)

The Republican Convention held in Chicago, impelled by the trend of public opinion in Pennsylvania, saw the need of recognizing the principle of protection. (139) This recognition was not without opposition. Horace Greeley, a pronounced protectionist, opposed such a plank on the ground that the greater the number of issues the greater

would be the tendency to divide on the smaller issues and the harder to unite on the prime issue. (140)

The great leaders of the Republican party, Lincoln, Chase, and Seward were opposed to taking up the tariff at this time. (141a) Only a few days before he was nominated Mr. Lincoln wrote to a correspondant: "The tariff question ought not to be agitated at this time." (141b.) This stand had been taken before by Mr. Lincoln, as evidenced by a letter to Edward Wallace in which he wrote: "still it is my opinion that a revival of the question will not advance the cause itself or the man who requires it." (142) Seward and Chase opposed the tariff on grounds similar to Greeley.

The Republicans, however, succeeded in placing in the platform the 12th resolution which was lauded by the Republicans as a protectionist plank and criticised by the Democrats as neither clear-cut nor with definite meaning. The resolution which was largely responsible for the Republican majority in Pennsylvania read: (143)

"Resolved. 12th. That while providing for the support of the general government by duties upon imposts such adjustment should be made as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country."

The importance of this plank may be over-emphasized but many of the authorities of financial and political history trace to it the election of Lincoln in November. (144) Mr. Blaine says in his *Twenty Years*, "It was to this recognition that Mr. Lincoln in the end owed his election." (145)

It was only natural that Pennsylvania with its great economic resources should stress those problems which, in the opinion of her citizens, vitally affected the advance and growth of their industrial system, and that the tariff rather than the extension of slavery should be the true issue in Pennsylvania.

The Democrats had been loosing ground in the Keystone state since the Panic of 1857. This depression occurred with a tariff of Democratic choice, a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress and every department of government under Democratic control. (146) Naturally since Pennsylvanians had been seriously affected by the Panic of 1857 these facts did much to weaken the Democratic cause.

Protection had been a prime issue in Pennsylvania in preceding elections. To show the weakness of other issues the state election of 1856 might be quoted. In this election David Wilmot, a strong anti-slavery man was defeated by Packer, who upheld protection. (147) Disassociated from the question of protection, opposition to slavery extension was a weak issue and the Republicans insured success when they identified hostility to slave labor with the protected labor of Pennsylvania. (148)

The campaign arguments in Pennsylvania centered on four controversial questions. First, which party is the better tariff party in Pennsylvania? Second, Is the tariff plank in the Chicago Platform sincere? Third, Are the Republican candidates protectionists? Fourth, Is protection advantageous at this time?

In regard to the first controversial point the Democrats placed much emphasis on the Tariff of 1857 which they styled a Republican Tariff and held was the cause of the Panic of 1857. The *Post* in its editorials gave much argument and more statistics to prove conclusively that the Republicans had supported measures contrary to protective ideals. (149) The *Post* also claimed for the Pennsylvania Democrats a more active stand for the Morrill Bill than the Republicans. (150) The *Gazette* replied to these arguments by referring to the "unanimity with which the Republicans in Congress had supported the Morrill Bill." (151) They also traced the history of protection and the frequency with which protective measures had been defeated by Southern votes and influence was made much of. They also referred to the 12th plank of the Chicago Convention and pointed out that "protection to the principle interests of our country is one of the cardinal doctrines of their creed." (152)

The question of the sincerity of the tariff plank was perhaps the strongest point of the opposition. We have noticed in the wording of the plank a certain vague indefiniteness. The *Post* said concerning the plank: "Take for instance the 12th resolution of the Republican platform, which professes to pledge the Republican party to a protective tariff—do we find its terms beyond inquivocation or cavil?" (153) In another issue the same paper made the statement that: "there is no reason to doubt that the

tariff resolution introduced into the Chicago platform was introduced to conciliate the protectionists of Pennsylvania while it was so worded as to give no offense to the free-trade Republicans of New York and elsewhere." (154) The Republicans in turn disclaimed all these charges and alluded to the 12th resolution as a recognition of the "great principle of protection of the industrial interests of the nation and a demand for an honest and economical administration of government." (155)

The question of the tariff policies of the Republican nominees caused much attention. The *Pennsylvanian* quoted by the *Washington* (Pa.) *Review* stated: "Lincoln is claimed to be a friend of protection. Hamlin is the special champion of free-trade." (156) This was a strong point for the opposition, as Hamlin, the Republican nominee for vice-president, had supported free-trade. The *Hollidaysburg Standard*, in an editorial entitled: "Are the Republicans sincere?" (157) showed the discrepancies of the Republicans on the tariff question in various parts of the country. "The supporters of Lincoln in this quarter profess a rigid sentiment in favor of protection, and disclaim loudly for the passage of the tariff bill which the House of Representatives have been considering. The *New York Evening Post* and the journals of Maine (Hamlin's state) and everywhere down east denounce the bill as the odious tariff act and call for its unconditional defeat" (157) The *Pittsburgh Post* referred to the free-trade attitude of Hamlin and the *New York Post.* (158) According to a letter from the Democratic Candidate for governor of the state of Maine, Hamlin, in a desire to conciliate the manufacturers in Pennsylvania, insisted upon protection and made speeches in its behalf. (159) This is hailed by the Democracy as another evidence of Republican hypocracy.

The Republicans in rebuttal of course referred to Mr. Lincoln as an advocate of protection. "On one important point," the *Philadelphia Bulletin* wrote, "Mr. Lincoln has a record which will tell in his favor in Pennsylvania. Here after all, the Tariff is the vital question. All parties are for the Union and the Constitution, so there can be no issue there. But all parties are not for protection of American industry. The Democrats ignore it.... Mr. Bell has been

a tariff man, but as he has no platform and as he relies mostly on the Southern states for support he will have to conform to a considerable degree to Southern policy which favors free-trade. Mr. Lincoln is a tariff man on a tariff platform." (160) This statement, tho a partisan one, is backed up by facts and is correct in regard to the principles of the various candidates on the tariff question in 1860.

The fourth question which was debated in the campaign was the advisability of tariff agitation and revision at that time. The Democrats counselled moderation. They knew that they must uphold the tariff but they attempted to show that the interests of Pennsylvania would be injured if too stringent a campaign for protection was undertaken. Conservatism was urged by the *Post*. "The trade of Pennsylvania with the South is large. The attitude of Republican papers is deleterious and will deflect trade of the South to other sources. We must be conservative and the Democratic party is now the conservative party." (161) In another editorial the *Post* stated: "it is time for the conservative men among merchants and business men to look matters fairly in the face and ask themselves the question: 'Are not the rabid politicians of the Republican party destroying our interests?' " (162) The Democrats also made much of the fact that the bank and tariff were dead issues and no longer the leading political questions of the day and were therefore receiving undue consideration from the opposition. (163)

The Republicans in reply to these arguments stressed the importance of industry and the aid of protection in the advancement of manufacturers. In Allegheny and Washington counties enthusiastic Republican meetings were held and the tariff always occupied an important place in the discussion. The Washington County Convention, meeting on June 17th, resolved that, "the declaration of the principles of protection for the whole country be upheld." (164) At the second meeting of the Central Republican Campaign Club of Washington the tariff was alluded to and the President of the Club in lengthy remarks showed the importance and necessity of judicious protection. (165) These incidents while of minor and local importance show the influence of the tariff issue in the campaign.

The result was as predicted by the state election—Pennsylvania gave to Lincoln a majority of nearly 300,000. "This is a result unprecedented in political history of the state and shows the unanimity which prevails among the people in favor of Free Territory, Free Labor and Protection to Home Industry." (166)

While no mention of the tariff as a grievance or cause of secession was made in South Carolina's ordinance (167) nevertheless the action of Pennsylvania and its ardent support for the principle undoubtedly had some influence.

The evidence given above will show that while the Morrill Act was not a success as a financial measure, not yielding sufficient revenue for the war emergency, its influence was far-reaching. The Republican agitation for protective tariff proved to be the great attraction for Pennsylvania voters. This fact shows that at least in some localities economic considerations overshadowed the great question of the extension of slavery.

The importance of the vote of Pennsylvania in the election of 1860 and the unique position of the tariff question in the state and the subordination of all other questions to it cannot be overlooked.

The tariff was paramount. Both parties upholding protection made it in reality no issue. Since the national parties were not in accord on the subject it was necessary for the Democrats to take the defensive in an endeavor to satisfy a constituency which favored protection with a national platform which entirely ignored it. The campaign arguments show that both parties were consistent, althc the Democrats were naturally the more conservative.

The importance of the Morrill Act, therefore, lies in the fact that it showed the Republicans to be the supporters of protection. The Act coupled with the resolution in the Chicago Platform which upheld protection was the balance which decided the election of 1860 in favor of the Republicans.

I. F. Boughter

NOTES

1. Blaine. "Nature of Protection"; *Modern Eloquence;* XI, 266.
2. Marvin, *Tariff of* 1846-57; p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
5. Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 157.
6. Marvin. *Tariff of* 1846-57, p. 23.
7. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 58.
8. Garrison, *Westward Expansion*, p. 187.
9. Killikelly, *History of Pittsburg*, p. 204.
10. Hull, *Financial Depressions*, p. 146.
11. Richardson, *Messages of the Presidents*, V, 436.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 650.
15. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, p. 184.
16. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 56.
17. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 479.
18. *Pittsburg Dispatch*, Jan. 2, 1860.
19. *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1860.
20. Taussig., *Tariff History*, p. 158.
21. Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 183.
22. Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 266.
23. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress,First session, p. 1832.
24. Burton, *John Sherman*, p. 68.
25. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1231.
26. *Pittsburg Dispatch*, May 18, 1860.
27. Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 158.
28. Richardson *Messages of the Presidents*, V, 522.
29. *House Documents*, Vol. 129, pp.164-180.
30. Cox, *Three Decades*, p. 137.
31. Blaine, *Twenty Years*, I, 277.
32. Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 158.
33. Tarbell, *Tariff in our times*, p. 8.
34. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 315.
35. Lothrop, *William Seward*, p. 277.
36. Kerr, *John Sherman, His life and public service*, I, 107.
37. Cox, *Three Decades*, p. 137. Marvin, Tariff of 1846-57. p. 34.
38. Kerr, *John Sherman*, I, 107.
39. *Cong*: *Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1116.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 1135.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 1231.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 1415.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 1563.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 1832.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 1859.
46. Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 185.
47. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1972.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 1972.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 1972.
50. Sherman, *Recollection*, I, 186.
51. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 2056.
52. *Senate Documents*, Vol. 56 p. 216.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
54. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1046.
55. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1046.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 1957.
57. *Gazette*, April 27, 1860.
58. *Chronicle*, April 27, 1860.

59. *Dispatch*, May 3rd., 1860.
60. *Cong. Globe* 36th Cong., 1st Ses., 1851.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 1851.
62. *Chronicle*, April 28, 1860.
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65. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., 1972.
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67. *Reporter*, Dec. 14, 1859.
68. *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1860.
69. *Post*, Jan. 4, 1860.
70. *Reporter*, Apr. 5, 1860.
71. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 2017.
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74. *Ibid.*, p. 2910.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 2980.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 3010.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 3027.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 3032.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 3062.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 3101.
81. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., Ses., p. 3094-3101.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 3184.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 3187.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 3195.
85. *Dispatch*, Dec., 12, 1860.
86. Cox, *"Three Decades"*, p. 157.
87. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd, Ses., 1065.
88. *Ibid.*, 1065.
89. *Ibid.*, 1051.
90. *Ibid.*, 1052.
91. *Ibid.*, 1051, ff.
92. Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 187.
93. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Ses., p. 1416.
94. *Gazette*, June 9th, *Dispatch*, June 11, 1860.
95. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Ses., p. 3181.
96. *Chronicle*, May 24, 1860.
97. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1860.
98. *Gazette*, May 24. 1860. Speech June 20th, 1860.
99. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1860. Speech June 15th, 1860.
100. *Post*, April 5, 1860.
101. *Post*, April 17, 1860.
102. *Gazette*, April 20, 1860.
103. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1860.
104. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1860.
105. *Chronicle*, May 11, 1860.
106. *Post*, May 12, 1860.
107. *Gazette*, June 9, 1860.
108. *Dispatch*, June 11, 1860.
109. *Gazette*, June 18, 1860.
110. *Post*, June 20, 1860.
111. *Gazette*, June 24. 1860.
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113. *Post*, April 3, 1860.
114. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1860.

115. *Chronicle*, April, 10, 1860.
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117. *Post*, April 10, 1860.
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126. *Washington Reporter*, Feb. 29, 1860.
127. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1860.
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129. *Chronicle*, June 11, 1860.
130. *Gazette*, June 4, 1860.
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132. *Post*, Sept 10, 1860.
133. *Gazette*, Sept. 10, 1860.
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135. Chadwick, *Cause of the War*, p. 126, Rhodes, II., 479.
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(b) Tarbell, *Tariff in our Times*, p. 6.
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147. *Ibid.*, I, 205.
148 *Ibid.*, I, 206.
149. *Post*, April 17, 1860.
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151. *Gazette*, April 5, 1860.
152. *Dispatch*, Feb. 23, 1860.
153. *Post*, Sept., 11, 1860.
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159. *Chronicle*, August 2, 1860.
160. *Gazette*, May 24, 1860.
161. *Post*, January 10, 1860.
162. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1860.
163. *Ibid*, January 10, 1860.
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166. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1860.
167. Chadwick, *Cause of the War*, p. 140.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE BOOK OF COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN

(Manuscript Department Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania)

The book contains the following written by Colonel Morgan

The Delaware Chiefs in Council at my House near Princeton May 12th, 1779, addrefs'd me as follows—

Brother Taimenend,

We have now gone through most of the great Work we came upon, but one thing remains, which we expect you will be pleased with & not contradict us in.

The Delaware Nation have experienced great Advantages from your wise Councils, & from your Truth, & Justice, in representing their real Sentiments & Disposition to ye Congrefs of the United States. You have at all times studied the good of our Nation & done all in your Power to promote the Happinefs of our Women & Children, & of Our Posterity.

You have now entertained a considerable number of Us in your own Family for some time; & you have kindly undertaken the Care of some our Children, who we have brought here, to be educated—We see your own Children & we look on theme with Pleasure as on our own—For these Considerations, & in Order to show our Love for you, & for your Family we now give to you a Tract of Land in our Country that you may call your own, & which you & your children may pofsefs & enjoy forever—

The Delaware Nation give you this land, Brother Taimenend to show their Love for you & your Children—We will now describe it—It begins at the Mouth of the Run opposite the Foot of Montours Island—(we mean the lower End of the Island,) & extending down the River Ohio, to the Run next to Logs Town;—bounded by the said two Runs & the River Ohio & extending back from the River Ohio to the tops of the highest Hills—being, we suppose about three Miles in general in a direct Line from the River to the Tops of the said Hills—And about six Miles from Run to Run—

This Tract contains the whole of the Schwickley Bottom, which is very good Land, & we desire that you and your Children may accept & Pofsefs it forever.

The Chiefs & Counsellors present on this Occasion were

1 Hey ley laymont, or Hillbush	2	3
4th	5th	6th
7th	8th	10th

Hey ley leymont, was the Speaker—repeated by Israel or straight Arm. Interpreted by Jos: Nicholson.

Heckewelder says that when Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton, visited the Western Indians, by order of Congress, in 1776, he was so beloved for his goodness, that the Delawares conferred upon him the name of their venerated chief, Tamene, Taimenend, or St. Tammany. Colonel Morgan brought back to the whites such glowing accounts of the qualities of that ancient chief, that in the Revolutionary war he was dubbed a saint, and his name was placed on some calendars. He was called by politicians, St Tammany, and established as the patron saint of republican America.

Librarian.

GIFTS AND LOANS

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in its building at Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, maintains a Museum for the preservation of relics, pictures and documents associated with the history of Western Pennsylvania and adjoining territory. Hundreds of articles, many of which constitute a priceless talisman in the annals of the country about the Forks of the Ohio, have been donated to the Society and are treasured in the Museum for the education of posterity.

Constant additions are being made to these gifts and the Society especially desires that all persons interested in preserving relics and documents relating to the history of Western Pennsylvania take advantage of the opportunity for safeguarding them in the custodianship of this organization. Books and documents by Pennsylvania authors, and pictures, documents and articles that have belonged to eminent Pennsylvanians of the western counties of the State are solicited. Acknowledgment of donations and loans will be made in succeeding issues of the Historical Magazine.

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Emma D. Poole, Librarian

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

JULY, 1923

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 3

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 6, No. 3. JULY, 1923 Price 75 Cents

THE MONONGAHELA RIVER (1)

The name "Monongahela" is significant, and indicates a peculiar trait of the Indian language. An Indian name always tells you the outstanding quality of the thing named, Monongahela means—muddy water, clayey—falling in banks. You will note "hela", which is a corruption of "henna", which is a general term for river. Thus, you have Monongahenna, Alleghenna, Loyalhenna, Susquehenna, etc.

Were you to follow the main stream of the Monongahela, its source would be found in some spring on the mountain side, close up to the drainage Kingdom of the stately Potomac. It drains an area of nearly 9,000 square miles. This is all underlaid with the Pittsburgh, Waynesburg and Freeport veins of coal, and this adds no small amount of importance to this noble river. The rocks that form the framework of this river basin are high in felspar and low in silicon, rendering this region easy of erosion. This explains, why the sand deposits are of poor quality. This also explains why there are few rounded river stones. The Monongahela lacks the hard sand, so characteristic of the Allegheny River. It also lacks the hard, flinty, round river stones with which the streets of Pittsburgh were, as some of you may remember, all paved in earlier days. These paving stones of Pittsburgh's earlier streets are interesting

(1) Paper read before the Society, March 27, 1923.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

and have a history. When the great ice-cap came creeping down from the north land, covering most of North America with a mass of ice, snow and debris thousands of feet thick, it pushed ahead unthinkable amounts of sand, gravel and boulders and these were deposited over almost the entire Allegheny River System. The sand of the Allegheny River is ground up Laurentian, Huronian, Keewatin, and other forms of flinty, igneous rocks that find placement in Northern and Central Canada. Should you find a pile of ordinary gravel used for cementing and pick out the various types of rocks there seen, and carry these specimens to Northern and Central Canada, you would be able to identify the various formations from which these came. This difference in the quality of the sand found in the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers has an economic significance.

The hard carborundum-like sand of the Allegheny, called the plate glass industries to its shores, since this industry must have a hard sand to grind down the glass, after it is rolled on the tables. When the great glacier had come and gone, what a wreck it had made of the drainage system of the Allegheny River. The old river bed was filled up with claysilt, sand and gravel, damming its water back into great lakes. When these great dams gave way, this material was carried out so fast as to dam up the Monongahela as high as the Pittsburgh hills and make a lake of the Monongahela river valley extending back far above Fairmont, West Virginia. The old river bed of the Monongahela, was completely refilled with eroded material.

Then began the long struggle to reestablish its former drainage system, but, in its long battle, the river wandered from its original site. In former days it flowed peacefully over Oak Level at McKeesport, crossing the old bed at Duquesne, recrossed near Turtle Creek, and kept the even tenor of its way through Swissvale and East Liberty valley, where it divided, one branch going north, and one south of the Herron Hill. When excavating for the new Schenley Hotel, deep beds of characteristic Monongahela River sand were found there. In excavating at the Homestead Steel works, beds of Monongahela River sand are found some twenty feet below the level of the present river bed, which

indicates the river has not yet attained its former depth of erosian.

Many of you know the county road leading from Murray Avenue to Browns Bridge on the Monongahela River. When this road was built, the builders did not cut into the side of the hill, but filled in dirt, over the delta of the Nine Mile Run, close up against the cliffs skirting Mr. James Ward's mansion on the river bank. When this road was used as a coal road it kept sinking. Mr. Ward tells me, he hauled car-loads of discarded railroad ties, and corduroyed the road to make it passable. When the road was improved three years ago, the road broke vertically, and sunk nearly eight feet. The telegraph and power line poles still stood erect. A flimsy cement retaining wall, that had previously broken and hung ready to topple over, did not fall. Where this road was built, Nine Mile Run, meets another run, flowing in an almost opposite direction, and this naturally would cause a whirl pool, and cut a deep hole, and this Nine Mile Run and the other run were both filled up by the glacial dam and into this bed of quicksand the road found easy access to rid itself of cumulating pressure. Thus do present effects connect themselves with distant causes.

No discussion of this river would be complete without noticing the Flood Plains, for on these Flood Plains came the industries, towns and cities which are the spinal column of our modern civilization. When the river began to swing from side to side, where the current hit the bank, its current on the outside of the curve was swifter and its carrying power greater, so it cut into the bank deep, and eventually made on this side, high, steep banks, and much of this material was deposited on the inside of the curve where the current was slower, and the carrying power less.

As you go up the river, the first Flood Plan is on the south side. The next appears across the river at Hazelwood; the next across the river at Homestead, thence across to Braddock, thence to Duquesne, to McKeesport, etc.; and on these Flood Plains, the early settlers found very fertile soil, and called them the meadow lands, but now they are the sites for cities and these Flood Plains have, according

to their size and availability, dictated the course of developments.

The earliest residents here were, so far as we may know, the Allegwei Indians. These were conquered and driven away by the Delawares and the Iroquois, and the latter subjuated the Delawares. These Indians are said to have come from the west. Their custom was to build mounds much after the fashion of the Indians of the west. There were many of these mounds at McKees Rocks, and a very large one on the Brierly Farm, back of Homestead. There was also a very large one excavated at Peter's Creek, above McKeesport, and the articles found therein now find sanctuary in the Carnegie Museum. All up the river valley, these Indian burying grounds were numerous. It is probable that those who died gloriously in battle find repose in these mounds.

In the period before the Revolutionary War, Guyasootha and Queen Allequippa were Indians of prominence here. Queen Allequippa was a gracious, stately queen who ruled over this district and had her royal tepee on a commanding cliff, this side of McKeesport. Guyasootha was a very remarkable man, brave, energetic, and like Pontiac, exceedingly resourceful and a great traveler.

The Indian trails up the Monongahela valley are very interesting indeed. The Indians did not wander at random through the trackless forests but followed well thought out and worked out trails. These trails were marvels of directness and efficiency. The dim eyes of the white man had it is true too hazy a discernment to follow these trails, but the keen-eyed Indian followed as easily as you follow the Boulevard of the Allies. One of these trails was a sort of Lincoln Highway, starting at the Gulf of Mexico and kept in its steadfast course on to northern Canada; and this trail had much to do in determining the location of early settlements in Western Pennsylvania. A branch of this trail came over the mountains from Cumberland, passing through Uniontown, Connellsville, Cat Fish Camp at Washington, Pa., a further branch of which came over this way and connected with the Kittaning-Juniata Valley trail, at the foot of the Horse Shoe Bend on the Pennsylvania lines, thus intersecting with the extensive east and west trail.

When the Ohio Company was formed, 1748, Col. Thomas Cresap was secured to open a trail from Cumberland to the head waters of the Monongahela. Cresap secured for this important work, the services of Nemacolin, who blazed a trail and cut away all fallen timber, and this trail marks a significant milestone in the transportation of the Monongahela Valley. So well did this wonderful Indian, Nemacolin, do the task assigned to him that Nemacolin's Path, later became the pack-horse route, and over this came thousands of tons of freight costing about $150 a ton to transport, as against $1.30 a ton now; seven to ten cents a pound were the prevailing rates. Salt, iron, nails, etc. were carried thus, and hides, feathers, etc., went east.

These pack-horse drivers were very interesting characters. Each driver handled eight or ten horses. Each horse carried about 800 pounds burden; over his shoulders, each horse carried a wooden half hoop, in the center of which, hung a bell that was silent by day, but when the horses were turned loose at the ond of the day, tinkled the night long to notify the driver where to look for his beasts in the morning. These pack-horses streamed over the mountains in endless cavalcades, but, in 1774, Conrad Hawk drove a wagon over the mountains, and this event also marks a significant milestone in early transportation in the Mononogahela River Valley. Soon, the freight was all sent over in wagons, dispensing with the services of the pack-horse drivers, who went on a strike, destroyed the bridges and wagons, and sometimes even the freight, showing that labor troubles and strikes are no recent conception.

If I could reproduce in a graphic way the kaleidoscopic panorama of Nemacolin's Trail, it would clearly illustrate the dizzy pace civilization has set. First, came the vague, and to white men, the indistinct Cataba Trail, then the better selected, the clearly defined and well blazed Nemacolin Path, then the pack-horse path, then the wagon road, then the greatest road-building project in the world, the building of the great Cumberland Turn Pike. Starting at Baltimore it passed through Cumberland to Wheeling, with a branch to Pittsburgh. This great road ended at Joplin, Missouri, and was a wonderful undertaking. Following the same general

path Nemacolin had chosen came the great B. & O. Railroad, over whose shining steel goes the traffic of a continent.

A rather interesting event then occurred that blocked for a while the transportation facilities of the Monongahela. Philadelphia at this time was the metropolis of the new world. The Erie Canal was completed and this put New York in the lead. The great Cumberland Turn Pike and now the B. & O. Railroad were threatening to put Baltimore in the saddle over Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia interests blocked the passage of the B. & O. Railroad to Pittsburgh, forcing this railroad to Wheeling.

One of the best known events connected with this great river is the ill-starred Battle of the Monongahela, or General Braddock's Defeat. It seems to me that a faithful description of this unfortunate battle should give General Braddock a much more glorious position than the one he now occupies. The conduct of his campaign was masterful in every detail up to the time of the battle. In earlier British military annals, General Braddock had honestly won great renown, and was certainly much superior to Amherst or Lord Howe. This campaign was to be carried on under new, untried, and unknown conditions, and some one had to be the pioneer. He was not surprised and ambushed, as is generally thought. General Braddock's battle line, as shown on Patrick McKellar's map, shows a complete mastery of the situation in guarding against surprise and ambush, with out-posts on both flanks carefully posted, and an advanced picket line. Some French soldiers were surprised by the English out-posts, and like the hunter and bear, both ran. The morale of both the French and the English soldiers was lamentably bad. It was probably the psychology of the forest that defeated Braddock's army. The never ending, unconquerable forest with its gloom, and dread forebodings had broken the nerve of the English army, and the first sign of danger threw them into a frenzied panic.

The French soldiers were no better. It was the Indians who won renown for France, for the French Army, at once sought safety in flight. The Ax-men, under the direction of Patrick McKellar had cut a road 66 feet wide, from Turtle Creek to the end of the battle line, and down this line of

least resistance, most of the army fled in panic, where they were an easy mark for the lurking Indians. In what sharp contrast to this cowardice does Braddock's bravery show. His was not to direct the battle from the rear, but to gallop to a place of hardest fighting, and there, while vainly, but glorious endeavoring to stem the tide, to receive his death wound; and with blood streaming from him, he still did his best. You say he was so self-willed, etc.,—but is not this the dominant trait in all great military leaders? Let us accord General Braddock the place that is due the brave, dauntless, courageous man. He was carried to Braddock's Spring, where he was given a drink and his wound was washed and hastily dressed. The location of this spring is fittingly marked by a tablet, and is now covered by the general offices of the Edgar Thompson Steel Works, at 13th Street, in Braddock, Pa.

The exact location of the Battle of the Monongahela, is a matter of some controversy. The location of Frazier's Cottage is known. Where Braddock crossed the Monongahela is known; but how far up the hill and how far west the battle took place are matters in dispute.

Pat McKellar was Braddock's engineer. His duty was to lead the Ax-brigade and prepare the road. McKellar was asked after the battle by General Shirley to prepare a sketch of the battle line, which he made, and submitted to the surviving officers by whom it was approved. He made two sketches, one of the battle field, and another showing the deployment of the troops at 2 P. M.

Mr. Sidney Dillon, who was chief Draftsman for the Edgar Thompson Steel Works, had his interest in the line of battle aroused by the research work along this line done by Prof. Lacock of Harvard University, and Prof. Temple of Washington and Jefferson College. Mr. Dillon was in possesion of all the typographic maps and outlines, which show defiles and elevations as existing prior to modern improvements. By imposing Mr. McKellar's maps on the maps of Braddock and North Braddock, Mr. Dillon has succeeded in harmonizing the maps. Mr. Dillon makes the farthest point west near 6th Street, Braddock — at a point much farther west than old citizens had thought,—but it agrees

with General Washington that it was 600 perches west of Turtle Creek.

David McClure's diary lay in a New England attic until a few years ago, and his account is, as yet, little known to the general public; and as it is brief, I give it to you. On Sunday, August 1772, Dr. McClure visited Braddock's field. He says, "This memorable spot is about 11 miles from Pittsburgh on a bank of the Monongahela. It is a gradual ascent from the bank to the top of the hill, extending about ¼ of a mile. Up and down the ascent, the army, consisting of about 1400 chosen troops, were parading in rank and file three deep, with intervals for field pieces. They were a fatal mark for the Indians. Nine hundred of the army fell, and it is not known that a single Indian was hurt. The trees in front of the army were wounded with grape shot, about five feet from the ground. It was a melancholy spectacle to see bones of men strewn over the ground, left to this day, without solemn rites of sepulcher. The fact is a disgrace to the British Commanders at Fort Pitt. The bones had been gnawed by the wolves, the vestiges of their teeth appearing upon them. Many hundreds of skulls lay upon the ground. I examined several and found the mark of the scalping knife upon all them. I put a skull and a jaw bone in my portmanteau, which I afterwards presented to Mr. Stewart's Museum in Hartford. A man, Meyers, who lives near the field of battle, had humanely collected a great number of the bones and laid them in small heaps, in order to cultivate his corn. I departed from the place with serious and solemn reflections on the vanity of life, and the deep depravity of our fallen nature, the dreadful source of fighting and war, and all the miseries that man delights to inflict on man."

Although the battle of Braddock's Field was lost, I would not say the campaign was a failure. Braddock made a good road over the mountains from Cumberland almost to Pittsburgh. Over this road in a short time came sweeping a resistless tide of emigrants from Virginia and Maryland, a tide the French could not stem. Within ten years after this battle, streams of people were flowing into Fayette County, and an advance guard came to McKeesport and other places in this vicinity. Zadock Wright, a waggoner with

Braddock, returned to Miflin Township. One of the Wilsons, also, with Braddock, did the same. My great grandfather, also with General Braddock, returned later to Miflin Township.

A letter, written from Winchester, Virginia, April 30, 1765, says, "the frontier inhabitants of this colony and Maryland are fast moving over the Allegheny Mountains in order to settle and live there." George Crogan, Indian agent in 1766, stated that many were settling at Red Stone, in violation of treaty rights. This easy Nemacolin Path, made settlements in Fayette, Greene, and Washington County, easy to attain. The Monongahela River, via the Ohio, made settlements in Ohio, Tennessee, and Kentucky feasible and desirable at an early date.

The *Pennsylvania Journal*, of February 13, 1788, advertised that boats of every description and dimension may be had at Elizabeth Town. It also added, provisions of every kind may there be had, especially flour. Stephen Bayard, was the proprietor. Thus, as early as 1780, this whole district was settled and organized. Indded, most of the early deeds of this region bear date of 1787, and were issued under Governor George Miflin. By 1790, Kentucky alone had 74,000 population, and most of these early settlers floated down the Monongahela River. It has been estimated that 1500 who passed down the Monongahela River were murdered by the Indians. From the above, I would think that no settler could be counted very early here, who did not come prior to 1780. Many surveys were made about this time, and surveys would not be needed unless the land was wanted by settlers. Again, earlier than the surveys, were the "tomahawk claims."

On March 31, 1836, the Monongahela Navigation Company was organized with a capital of $300,000. It was planned to make the river navigable by use of locks and dams, as far as the Virginia line, and as much farther as Virginia would permit it to go. I believe the fall to be overcome in the first 55 miles, was but 33½ feet, and from Brownsville to Virginia line, 41 feet. By 1838, about ¾ of a billion bushels of coal annually, were moving down this stately river. In 1880, nearly a billion bushels of coal were carried

down the river, and the tolls for the ten years previous totaled $2,250,000, and the Monongahela Navigation Company became a rich concern.

When Mr. Charles Avery died, he willed a block of this stock to the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church for superanuated ministers. The stock later became valuable and the fund is now one of the largest and best of which I know. The residents along the Monongahela River were the inveterate foes to the Navigation Company. Sylvanus Lathrop, chief engineer for the Navigation Company, said in 1847, "Instead of being as it ought to have been, fostered by our citizens, and hailed by the inhabitants of the Monongahela Valley, as a blessing to themselves, it met with nothing but the most chilling regards from the one, and with either the most violent prejudice or the most determined hostility from the other."

When the Smithfield Street Bridge was built in Pittsburgh it was most seriously considered advisable to build the bridge so low boats could not pass under. The Railroads throttled river transportation and the pleasant vision of boats on the river was fading from sight. But Uncle Sam bought out the rights of the Navigation Company.

The steamers are now coming back. Prohibitive railroad freight rates are turning the tide, and the noble river is coming into its own again. The U. S. Steel Corporation is building a half million dollar dock at Rankin Junction. Recently, at Clairton, there has been erected, on the bank of the Monongahela, one of the largest cranes ever constructed, which is used for loading and unloading river freight. The great dock being built at Rankin Bridge will be equipped with modern loading devices which promise a great increase in river transportation.

There is at present, at least on the Pennsylvania lines, an embargo on freight, indicating that railroads, bereft of river aid, are inadequate to meet the growing demands of transportation.

Everything points to a speedy return of river transportation as a safe and efficient means of transfer. Let us hope that the dream of General Washington may yet come true, that a great canal will creep over the moutains and

connect up the Chesapeake Bay with the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Potomac, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi.

Let us also hope that city, town, and industrial concerns, great and small, will find other and more decent methods of sewage disposal than that of turning it into our beautiful river.

Let us hope for better things, and help restore it to its former beauty, when its limped waters from thousands of bubbling springs caused the artistic Indian to exclaim, "Hoheyn!" or, "The beautiful river!"

The Monongahela River was a heavy handicap to early French settlements west of the Allegheny Mountains. When Maryland and Virginia, two colonies on the Potomac highway, were settled by English, this fact made the manifest destiny of the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains English. The great Potomac carried an easy pathway well up to the base of the mountains, and the Monongahela had dissected its course far to the south and accross the mountan divide. The great Indian engineer, Nemacolin, had mapped out a marvelous pathway that made settlement in the southwestern part of Pennsylvania very feasible. A rich soil, and an abundant rain fall, good drainage, and a salubrious climate made early settlement very desirable. How early this magnetic Monongahela pulled settlers over the mountain path, we do not know, for history is usually not carefully recorded between the time of discovery and the time when society becomes somewhat organized.

When land and roads are surveyed, and the machinery of civilized life is set up, some records must be kept. In the primary stage of settlement we have the hunter, the trapper, and the fur trader. The earliest deeds recorded are in 1787, and it is probable that considerable settlements were made 20 years prior to this time. Prior to the surveys, were the "tomahawk claims" which were later surveyed and made available for record.

As early as 1740, the Frazier family was found at Turtle Creek and likely some others of the type of Daniel Boone, who settled soon after then, and later moved on to freer and wilder regions beyond. Probably about the year 1760, traders and trappers were found at the mouths of most

creeks in southwestern Pennsylvania, as these afforded easy access for the trapper to reach the haunts of the finer fur-bearing animals. Prior to 1773, when Westmoreland County was erected, Bedford County embraced all southwestern Pennsylvania. Since Fayette, Greene, and Washington Counties were nearest to the parent colonies of Virginia and Maryland, these localities had the earliest settlements.

It will afford you some notion of the extent of these settlements to examine those that were recorded in Bedford County in 1772. The names of enough families are known to furnish a sound basis for saying there must have been 5000 to 6000 people in the southwestern part of the state who were assessed and on the tax roll; in 1772 there were likely many who were not assessed, as tax dodging is no modern device. There were enrolled in 1772 in Pitt Township, I believe 79 families. Among these were George Croghan, John Ormsby, Devereux Smith, Conrad Winebiddle, Peter Roleter, Alexander Ross, Thomas and William Lyon. Thomas was later killed in sight of Homestead, and his family carried into captivity by the Indians. John Barr, who is connected with my own ancestry, lived here, as did Aeneas McKay and Jos. Spear. We know there was a family named Meir living at Turtle Creek not on this roll. I am quite sure Sebastian Frederick was, at this time, living at Homestead.

Contrast this easy path from Virginia and Maryland up the Potomac River over Nemacolin's Path and down the beautiful Monongahela with the fact that the French must come up the long St. Lawrence River across Lakes Erie and Ontario, down French Creek to the Allegheny. Besides, between the French parent colonies and the Gateway to the south and west, interposed the Iroquois Indians, the friends of English and the foes of the French, and a big buffer state between the French and the English.

Let us be thankful and do homage to the noble Monongahela, that it made English colonization easy and gave us a kind mistress, England, the most liberal and the most enlightened colonizing power in the world at that time.

James M. Norris.

TWO LETTERS ON EARLY TRANSPORTATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

To the Reverend Samuel Williamson, Vicar of Congleton, Cheshire, England, and brother of Hugh Williamson, M. D., L. L. D., Signer of the United States Constitution.

Near Shippensburg, March 4th, 1825.

Rev. and Dear Uncle,

Nothing has transpired here for some time of a domestic nature, that seemed sufficiently interesting to be told in Congleton.

Our Crops of Grain have been abundant for two years past, yet the Farmer does not flourish. Produce was never known to bear so poor a price. Wheat 75 cents a Bushel—Rye dull at .25—Corn at .20—If we convert our Corn and Rye into whiskey and send it to Baltimore, it only brings .20 a Gallon. Clover seed which used to sell for 10 sometimes 15 dollars is now selling at two dollars a bushel. Such being the state of our Markets the Farmer who is a few dollars in debt cannot pay, and many Farms are sold by the Sheriff at 30 Dlls. an acre which had been purchased at 100 dollars and even more an Acre. Those who are not in debt can get along pretty smoothly. Notwithstanding the low price of food, yet such is the difficulty of finding employment, that our paupers increase to an alarming degree.

The Mania of the day with us, is cutting canals. The experiment made by the State of New York has been so successful and so far exceeded all expectations that our State has it seriously in contemplation to attempt a water communication from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. Commissioners have been appointed to explore the rout, and have reported favourably. They say it is practicable by tunelling the Allegheny Mountains. The Tunnell would be about 4½ miles in length and from 100 to 750 feet below the surface. Some think this rather too great a bore, whilst others think it ought not for a moment to terrify us. But this is a subject that scarcely any of us know anything at all about. From what I have read of Railroads in extracts from English

papers, it appears to me that they have many advantages over canals. A principal one is that, for three or four months in the season when farmers usually send their produce to Market, the Canals are frozen. You have Railroads in England and probably you are well acquainted with their construction. You would do me a great kindness if you would write me a particular description of the manner in which these roads are made. The length and probably weight of the pieces of metal used—an estimate of the expense, on a plane, or where there was no digging, and any other information which you will give respecting them. I am appointed one of the Commissioners for Cumberland County to devise and recommend most suitable routs and plans for operation, and, it was long ago said, that a man can speak or write, better, if he understands something of the nature of the subject he is treating. If it should be that there are none of those roads in your part of the Country and that they have not been enquired into by you, perhaps Dr. King or some one of your friends would be so good as to describe them.

The Legislature of the State of Ohio, have just passed an act for making a Canal from Lake Erie to Portsmouth on the Ohio River a distance of about 400 miles. There will then be a water communication from New York to New Orleans! I was in that State last Spring. . .

This day John Quincy Adams will be inaugurated President of the U. S. for four years. Rumour says, and perhaps correctly, that he has selected the following Gentlemen to compose his Cabinet:—Henry Clay of Kentucky, Secretary of the State—Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury—James Barbour of Virginia, Secretary of War—S. L. Southard, New Jersey, Secretary of the Navy—William Wirt, Virginia, Attorney General and DeWitt Clinton, at present Governor of New York is offered the appointment of Minister to the Court of St. James.

Please to present me affectionately to my Aunt and to my Cousins when you next see them (wish they would write to me) and be as sure of the love and friendship of

Your Nephew

John Nevin.

Letter of John Nevin, Shippensburg, Cumberland County, Pa., to his uncle, General Samuel Finley, Chilicothe, Ohio.

Near Shippensburg, 5th, March, 1825.

Dear Sir:

I was much gratified in receiving your favour by Mr. Stewart and congratulate you on the chearing and auspicious prospects of bustle, business and activity which will soon pervade the State of Ohio. The bonfires, illuminations and other devices to which the good people resort to express their Joy, and render it visible, on the passage of the Canal bill, I received thro another channel.

We poor Pennsylvanians seem to have been left far behind in the march of internal improvement. We are doomed, yet a while, to crack our whips and tug the ponderous wagon, whilst our Friends of New York and Ohio will be floating with all their lumber from New York City to New Orleans. 'Tis true, we have been exploring a little and inquiring whether our waters could not be placed in some position to bear us along from Philad. to Pittsburg. But unluckily we find that we would have to worm our way under the Foundations of the Hills and tunnel the base of the Allegheny Mountain for about 4½ miles in length and from 100 to 750 feet from the surface. . . But let not our dashing Sisters ridicule our want of energy and enterprise. Pennsylvania is cautious, calculating and ever watchful to make the blunders of others profitable to herself. Even now her large sides are shaking with ill contained laughter to think how she will outstrip the whole of you by and by. I'll tell you the secret—when Ohio and New York have become completely engulphed in mud, mire and water and doomed by their debts ever to remain so. Then Pennsylvania will rise in her might, shake herself—call forth into lively exercise the keen penetrating glance of her Quakers and the plodding perseverence of her Germans, and surprise and astonish the Union by connecting the extremities of the State—not by the inert Canal, but by a Rail Road! A mode of conveyance, which for safety, celerity and uninterrupted pro-

gress, surpasses the Canal as far as the latter does the old Turnpike. Yes, My dear Sir, whilst you and our tall Sister of York will be waddling along in trenches in your sluggish element, with your goods liable to injury from dampness and your heads liable to be sheared off in passing under bridges, ever and anon begrimed and besloughed by Freshets and inundations, and in fact bung'd up totally by Ice in that very season of the year when Farmers would wish to send their produce to market,—Thus irrevocably fixed, you will be constrained to behold Pennsylvania bearing her brow aloft, spurning alike both Mud and Frost, with her thousand twirling vehicles, urged on by Steam, in rapid and undeviating progression, and bearing away the whole of your Western produce to her Great Emporium. Even DeWitt Clinton will scratch his head & exclaim in the language of Sterne "Really they manage these things better in Pennsylvania."

The data on which we proceed are not speculative and visionary. The inquiry in England now is not, Are Railroads preferable to Canals? But Parliament are pestered with petitions from Canal Stockholders to prevent the incorporation of Railroad Companies. They have put on Sackloth and ashes, as the Button makers did long ago, and prayed for the suppression of what they consider ruinous to their funds. But the Government says No. You must not stand in the way of the march of mind. The progress of useful invention must not be interrupted by you. As Turnpikes had to give way to your mode of conveyance, so now in turn you must not grumble that your gullies must succumb to the more advanced progress of the Arts as displayed in the Railroad System. . .

Your affectionate nephew

John Nevin.

John Nevin 1776-1829.
Farmer, Cumberland Co.
Dickinson College, Class of 1796
Trustee Dickinson College 1825-29.

THE LAND POLICY AND SYSTEM OF THE PENN FAMILY IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA.

Admiral Sir William Penn, renowned in English history by his martial valor as an officer of the British Navy, left to his son a claim against the Government for sixteen thousand pounds, consisting to a great extent of money advanced by him in the sea service, and of arrearages in his pay. In 1680, William Penn, his son, petitioned Charles II to grant him in lieu of this sum, "letters patent for a tract of land in America,—lying north of Maryland, on the east bounded with Deleware River, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable." (1) This petition was referred to the "Committee of the Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations." (2)

After sundry conferences and discussions concerning the boundary lines and other matters of minor importance, the Committee finally sent in a favorable report, and presented the draft of a charter, constituting William Penn, Esq., absolute Proprietary of a tract of land in America, therein mentioned, to the King for his approbation, and leaving to him also the naming of the Province. The King affixed his signature March 4, 1681, (3) and ordered, much against Penn's inclinations, the new Province to be called "Pennsylvania" in honor of the illustrious services of his father. (4)

After signing the charter the King issued a declaration informing the inhabitants and planters of the Province, that William Penn their absolute Proprietary, was clothed with all the powers necessary for the government of the Province. (5)

Penn owned forty-seven million acres of land by this grant. He was the largest private land owner in the world. Of this vast domain the Indians had never cultivated more than a small portion, using the remainder as a hunting ground. The animals, which were the chief source of Indian subsistence, were of little value compared with the perpetual riches that might be drawn from the earth by diligent and intelligent toil. (6) From his own personal observa-

tion of the land in 1683 he wrote, "The country itself, its soil, its air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. God in his wisdom having ordered that the advantages of the country are equally divided." (7)

Penn in reality paid nothing for his Province, except the payment he made to the Indians. (8) In this connection it is worth nothing that Penn took no land from the Indians without making treaties in which he gave articles of value to the Indians, (9) and no part of the payment was ever made in rum or strong drink. (10) Penn could dispose of the lands on any terms he pleased. No one could purchase a single acre from the Indians, for this was strictly forbidden. This prohibition was imposed (1) to preserve peace with the Indians, and (2) for self interest. In spite of these rigid restrictions large purchases of land were made from the Indians, though sales by the Indians were made with reluctance.

Walking was the only method of measurement in dealing with the Indians, and the trained English pedestrians had much the same advantage over the Indians, that the Carthagenians obtained by means of the famous ox-hide. (12) One of the most iniquitious of these purchases was that made by the unscrupulous speculator Allen, who was a friend of the Penns. His "walking purchase" by which he acquired title to 10,000 acres of land, has rightly been called the most villainous transaction in the provincial history of Pennsylvania. (13) After this transaction the Indians complained to Penn that "the white brother made too big a walk." (14) The mode of purchasing land by riding around it was also used in several instances. "As much as a man could travel in two days on a horse," was a common expression at this time. (15)

The charter from Charles II granted to William Penn and his heirs and assigns the land at the annual rent of "two Beaver skins" and one fifth of the gold and silver ore. That is it was to be held as a feudal fief at a nominal rent. (16)

"Purchasers of the soil held immediately of Penn, not of the King, and that by socage tenure." (17) Penn did not believe himself authorized to make grants upon alodial

principles. The estate therefore possessed by the grantee, in Pennsylvania, became according to Penn's idea a holding in the nature of a tenement. As such it was subject to quitrents, and to forfeiture for lack of heirs, or because of corruption of blood. (18) Pennsylvania as a proprietary colony then, may be viewed as a seigniory, divested it is true of the heaviest burdens imposed by feudal law, but endowed with such powers of territorial control as the great distance from England, the place of residence of the lord paramount, required. (19)

To carry out his plans and desires for the colony when he was absent, Penn appointed governors, and deputy governors to rule under his authority. Thus Pennsylvania started as a feudal proprietary province under the treble control of deputy governors, proprietors, and king. (20)

Immediately after obtaining the charter, Penn and his sons divided the land into three parts. The first comprised the millions of acres called the common land, which generally, though not always, sold at uniform rates. The second division included the proprietor's tenths or manors, reserved and held by the proprietors jointly, consisting usually of one-tenth of the choicest lands in a given tract. The third division was the private estate of the individual proprietors, either purchased by one of them from the others, or from persons in the province who had previously bought the property in question. (21)

In order to obtain the greatest benefit from his land, Penn adopted a plan for drawing thrifty settlers from the old world. As soon, therefore, as he had secured the charter of his Province, he offered land for sale in proprieties of five thousand acres each, free of Indian incumbrances, for one hundred pounds. (22) Each share sold was to be called a propriety. Smaller estates of two hundred acres would also be granted, subject to the payment of a quitrent of one shilling for every one hundred acres. (23) People could rent land as well as purchase it, but very few of the people entered upon land as renters, as they desired to become absolute owners of the soil in the new country. To those who desired to rent, it would be let in estates not exceeding two hundred acres each, at a quitrent of one penny

per acre. (24) Masters should receive fifty acres for each servant they brought over, and fifty acres was to be provided for each servant when his term of service expired. (25)

"While yet in England Penn sold large tracts of land in Pennsylvania to persons who were later technically known 'as first purchasers.' These 'first purchasers' formed a company called 'The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania.' This company purchased five hundred fifty-six thousand acres in trust for the company. They published articles of trade, and entered into divers branches thereof themselves, which were soon improved upon by others. They offered land at forty shillings per hundred acres, and one shilling per annum forever (this was the original institution of the quitrent in the province) and good conditions of settlement to such as choose to be adventurers in the new country." (26)

"To regulate these purchases, and to arrange for distributing land to those purchasers in the colony who could not afford to buy, Penn issued on July 11, 1681, his body of 'Conditions and Concessions' (27) These 'Conditions and Concessions' related exclusively to the first purchasers, (28) but when the lands, particularly those in the city were alloted, extraordinary claims based on real and supposed grants from Penn were set up, and continued to be urged with considerable vigor throughout the entire history of the province." (29) The "first purchasers" were those who took up land under these and other conditions which were issued before Penn left England on his first visit to the province.

If Penn's land system had been carried out on its original lines, it would have resulted in a landed gentry. He proposed a town and a province. Any purchaser of five thousand acres in the province was entitled to one hundred acres in the town; a purchaser of ten thousand acres in the province to two hundred acres in the town, and etc. The province was practically without limit in acreage, but the town was limited to one hundred shares of one hundred acres each. This arrangement would have caused the elevation of one hundred families or less, to the status of a land-holding aristocracy, separate and distinct from the mass of the

people in privileges, which could not have failed to produce a caste system, in fact, if not in name." (30) But when reflecting on these conditions, we must take into consideration that Penn was under capricious influences, and peculiar conditions in acquiring his grant at all; and also that his charter was a product of the reactionary period of the seventeenth century. (31)

In 1760 the method used in granting land in Pennsylvania was, "Upon application being made to the Proprietors a warrant is directed to the Surveyor General to survey the lands that have been applied for. That survey when made is returned into the Secretary's office, and upon the entire payment of the purchase price a Patent is made out. A bill was proposed that a new office should be elected for the registration of the warrants and surveys, as there was no office in the Province which by law was bound to record them, as they were then kept only in the Office of the Proprietaries, at their discretion, under an officer of their appointment only, receiving a salary for their Bounty and liable to be removed at their displeasure. This bill also stated that a warrant and survey are in law a complete title to an estate of inheritance in lands, for it declared that estates are claimed and held under Warrants, and Surveys, *and other writings.* By these other writings it obviously meant conveyance of an estate by Patent. It seldom happened that upon the issuing of a Warrant and Survey the whole of the purchase money is paid down. The remainder, according to the circumstances of the case, to be completed at some other, and often at a very distant period. This enabled the purchasers to retain money to expend in the cultivation of their lands." (32)

Thus titles to land were commenced by either of the following ways:

(1) By purchase from William Penn in England. These were accompanied by deeds to a tract of land, varying from three to ten thousand acres, though they did not designate any particular spot.

(2) By what were called "special grants". These were made to individuals, not according to general regula-

tion of the Land Office, but for particular service. These were laid out in more than one place.

(3) By warrants, upon application by parties for certain tracts of land in Pennsylvania. Copies of these warrants were left with the Secretary of the Land Office. (33)

The original settlers in Western Pennsylvania based their titles to farms on the "tomahawk right." Having selected a desirable spot, they encircled it with a line marked by blazing trees with an ax. There was no attention to angles, degrees and chains, the object being to designate the boundaries of the tract without reference to the number of acres. Lines thus indicated were held sacred and to this day are legal. This accounts for many ill-shaped farms, and where there were small tracts not included, they were left vacant, and in some cases these can be obtained to this day by anyone who will take legal means to obtain a title from the state. (34) In many cases the division lines between those whose lands adjoined were generally marked by tops of ridges and water courses.

Penn, though a man of liberal education, did not require the Land Office to keep very strict account of the disposition of the land, for when we examine the documents of the Land Office, or such of them as are now in existence, all appears uncertainty and confusion. (35) Grants for the most part were made in a loose way and this caused many later disputes, and caused the commission of great frauds against the proprietor and his sons. Many claims acquired either by settlement or by warrants were sold. These rights were considered personal property, and their transfer caused no little difficulty and litigation. If Penn, or his agents dealt too harshly with the purchasers dissatisfaction was sure to follow. For many years no pains were made to keep a record of any kind of the various grants. When Penn came over in 1732, for the second time, an effort was made to banish confusion from the Land Office, but this improvement was made slowly, due to the long prevalence of irregularity and carelessness. (36) The land committee was appointed by Penn from among his intimate friends in the province. The special agents of the Proprietors were located in Philadelphia. These officials

consisted of a secretary and a surveyor general, and from three to five commissioners of property. These men had authority to grant lands and guarrantee titles. (37)

The "old rights" (38) of the first purchasers were granted by deeds or lease and re-lease. At the time of the grant, the lands were not located or surveyed. Surveys were all very rough and were done incorrectly. Since the deeds were not all recorded, and afterwards purchases were made for speculative purposes by persons who never visited the province, titles were frequently defective from the outset.

In the first century, although there was a particular price at which lands in each particular district of the country were sold, yet prices varied every month, week, and day. During the life of Penn there never was a certain fixed price. The land office sold to such persons and at such prices as pleased the proprietary. Difference in price always occurred, due to different quality and value, depending on the quality of the soil. Penn was always careful to assert his right to dispose of the land of his province on such terms as he choose to make with would-be settlers, and this led to many changes in the terms of the grants. These changes were occasioned not only by differences of location and soil, but by the wishes of both parties to the contracts. (39)

"It is to be regretted that some general, accurate system for the location of lands had not been adopted at the beginning of the settlement of the province, and undeviatingly continued, thereby avoiding that intricacy in Pennsylvania titles which has been detrimental to the increase of her population. Unfortunately no system whatever can be traced in the records of the land office." (40)

Between 1718 and 1726 no titles were issued because of the boundary dispute between the heirs of Penn and Lord Baltimore. In 1732, articles of agreement in relation to the disputed land were entered into, and the land office fixed the price of land at ten pounds ten shillings currency per one hundred acres, and one-half penny sterling quit-rent per acre. This regulation continued in effect till 1762 with many exceptions to favorites who obtained grants upon much easier terms. In 1762 the rates were reduced to nine

pounds per one hundred acres and one penny quitrent per acre. In 1765 the price was further reduced to five pound per acre and one penny quitrent per acre. (The difference in the quitrent was intended to equalize the price.) There was a difference of thirty-one pounds ten shillings in the prices of one hundred acres, due to the changing of the prices. At these last mentioned rates many of the most valuable lands east of the mountains were granted away between the year 1762 and the time when the land office of the Proprietor was finally closed by the war of the Revolution.

Although William Penn had no developed plan of survey, he does deserve commendation because of his large vision of the province as a whole, and also because of his desire to have the land taken up in a series of townships rather than in the haphazard fashion of individual location. (42) County justices were enjoined to "endeavor to seat the lands by way of townships, as three thousand acres among ten families; if single persons ten thousand acres among ten of them." (43) The proprietor, on his own part, from every one hundred thousand acres reserved ten thousand acres for himself on the condition that in each instance they should be compactly together. (44) His surveyors were also instructed to locate for him five hundred acres in every township in addition to the proprietary tenths of all lands laid out. But the method of township surveys was soon lost sight of, and promiscuous surveys, according to the will of the purchaser soon became the rule. Penn also declared that "within three years after the land had been surveyed every one must appropriate and settle it, or on complaint to the proprietor that the rules of settlement had not been obeyed, newcomers might be given possession. In this case when the complaintant had paid the purchase money, interest, and fees for surveying, the proprietor should make him actual grant of the lands not rightfully settled." (45)

The controversy with Lord Baltimore became a subject of great anxiety to Penn, who resisted the high-handed and aggressive measures of the former with gentle and courteous firmness. The importance of settling this boundary dispute

finally demanded Penn's presence in England, where he could secure the aid of his friend King James in the possession of these lands. (46) The controversies with Maryland and Virginia, though adding no new element to the population, were also quite serious. The dispute with Maryland lasted seventy years, and several times resulted in bloodshed. If the Lords Baltimore had been successful in maintaining their claims, the Maryland line would have passed just north of Philadelphia and that city would no longer have belonged to Pennsylvania. If the Virginia claim had been successful, the western boundary of our state would have been east of Pittsburgh. (47)

On the death of William Penn, John, Thomas and Richard Penn acted as the Proprietorship, but in 1741 the governor, George Thomas was empowered to grant lands. After various duties were attended to in connection with the granting of the land under warrants and patents, a deed was issued under the great seal describing its bounds, and giving the complete legal title, but reserving, of course, the usual quitrent. These rents were to compensate the Proprietor for the administration of the government, and for his maintenance, if he failed to receive public support. They were collected from the common and manorial lands, and from lots in Philadelphia. Payable annually they ranged from a peppercorn, a red rose, an Indian arrow, a buck's foot, a beaver skin, or a bushel of wheat to several shillings per hundred acres, according to the period of time, the quality of the land, and the person to whom the grant was made. At any rate they formed a constitutent part of the conditions of sale, and were expressly mentioned in the patents. From the very beginning difficulty arose in the collection of the quitrents. The collectors were laughed at, were refused payment and even personally maltreated. (48)

In his Charter of Privileges, October 28, 1701, Penn declares: "That seven years quiet possession shall give an unquestionable right except in cases of infants, lunatics, married women, or persons belonging to the sea." In clearing the ground the provision was "To one acre of trees for every five acres cleared." (49) This was the beginning of forestry in Pennsylvania. In case of dispute over title, in

which one claimant held under warrant of survey, and the other by previous settlement and improvement, the latter title was usually judged superior. (50)

In 1708 William Penn for sixty-six hundred pounds mortgaged Pennsylvania to Henry Gouldey, Joshua Gee and seven other individuals in England. In 1712 he negotiated with Queen Anne for the transfer of his territory to the Crown for twelve thousand pounds because "of debts contracted for settling and improving said colonies." (51) When in 1718, Penn died, the mortgage to the above men had not been entirely paid off. In his will he devised the government of the province and territories to the Earls of Oxford, Mortimer and Piolelt, as heirs in trust to dispose thereof to the Queen or any other person as advantage should dictate. To his widow and eleven others, part resident in England and part in America he devised all his lands, rents and other profits in Pennsylvania, the territories or elsewhere on the Continent in trust with instructions to sell or otherwise dispose of enough to pay his debts. Of that which remained all except thirty thousand acres he bestowed by the trustees on the three sons of the founder by his second wife—John, Thomas and Richard Penn. All the personal estate and arrears of rent he gave to his wife for the equal benefit of herself and her children, and he made her sole executrix. (52)

In 1730 when squatters settled on the land, the Proprietors who were in destitute circumstances decided that they could have the land at the price then in vogue at the time of settlement with interest from that time; those who could not do this were obliged to pay a quitrent proportional to the purchase money. The "Law of Improvement" designated to provide future revenue for the land, declared that any one who built, cleared or resided on land not sold or appropriated by the Proprietors could acquire a title. These "improvements" were bought, sold and rented. (53) In the middle of the eighteenth century, warrants of survey were issued for lands already settled and improved on payment of two-thirds of the purchase money, the remaining dues were paid at the completion of the survey, and then the full title was granted. (54) This was done in a multitude of cases. (55)

On November 27, 1779 the Assembly passed an act vesting the rights of the Proprietary in the commonwealth and abolishing the quitrent. The safety of the people justified this measure, at least so far as the act went to divest the heirs of William Penn of their rights. This law did not, as was commonly thought confiscate the property of the descendents of William Penn, or consider them as enemies in any shape whatever, but they simply applied the words of the preamble that "The safety and the happiness of the people is the fundamental law of society." (56)

In 1784 the legislature threw the lands open to settlement under the old arrangement of selling warrants of survey to be located anywhere the applicant choose. (57) In 1785 the military tract was laid out into lots ranging from two hundred acres to five hundred acres. (58)

In 1792 the legislature passed "An Act for the Sale of Vacant Lands Within the Commonwealth." This measure introduced an entirely new feature into the legislation pertaining to the disposition of public land in its provision that the land should be sold only to such persons as would cultivate, improve, or settle the land, or cause the same to be cultivated, improved, or settled. Under this law the Surveyor General was authorized to divide the territory into districts, and to appoint deputy surveyors who were to execute warrants, limited to four hundred acres each, at seven pounds ten shillings per acre. A loophole in this law that permitted wide speculation in land by unscrupulous persons was that "If the enemies of the United States (the Indians) hostilely interfered with the settler and he was driven therefrom, and persisted in his efforts to make settlement, then he and his heirs was entitled to have and to hold the said lands as if the actual settlement had been made." (59) This was quite different from the primitive method of "taking up" lands by building a cabin and raising a crop of grain, however small, of any kind, which entitled the occupant to four hundred acres of land, and a pre-emption right to one thousand acres more adjoining, which was in effect just fifty years before.

There was an advantage to the people by the retention of control by the Proprietors, however, because owing to

the lack of sympathetic assistance from the colonists in cases where land jobbing enterprises were attempted, the people were often incapable of enforcing even their legal rights. A Pennsylvanian might succeed in establishing a monopoly, while an Englishman three thousand miles away was not greatly to be feared. This resulted in the State being the gainer by the Proprietory policy.

"In remembrance of the enterprising spirit of the founder, and of the expectation and dependence of his descendents," (60) the Commonwealth gave to the Proprietory one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Thus we have traced the land policy and the system of the Penn family in disposing of their lands in early Pennsylvania. How can we but say it is a land which the Lord has blessed; and that it needed only a wise people to render it like ancient Canaan, "The glory of the earth."

Alan C. Gregg.

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SQUATTERS AND TITLES TO LAND IN EARLY WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA (a)

or

An Introduction to Early Western Pennsylvania Land Titles

The subject of Squatters and Titles to Land is one of the most fascinating topics imaginable, especially as it is related to the early history of Pennsylvania. From our modern point of view we are very likely to consider the term "squatter" as a title somewhat questionable and surely one which does not command the highest degree of respect. And we shall be more inclined to look upon the term with less respect after we consider the following definition, namely,

"A squatter is one who settles upon a piece of land without having any legal claim to it."

However, the barren phrases and the cold words in such a definition are apt to be misleading. In order to understand just what the term implies, particularly as it is related to Western Pennsylvania, two things are absolutely necessary. First, we must know the type and general characteristics of the people who settled upon the virgin soil of this state, the circumstances which brought them here and the conditions which influenced their lives after they had settled. Secondly, we must have a general knowledge of the workings of the early land system of Pennsylvania.

In the early years of the 18th century Pennsylvania became the scene of great waves of immigration. Thousands of settlers entered the colony of the Quakers at this time due to several causes. It is well known that Wm. Penn upon acquiring the charter to this vast tract of land endeavored to attract settlers to his province in order to develop its great natural resources. The "Free Society of Traders" was organized to promote this movement. Pamphlets were prepared by Penn himself and were circulated in England and Wales as well as in Holland, Germany and France. According to the information contained in these pamphlets, religious freedom and civil liberty were offered

(a) *Paper read before the Society, May* 29, 1923.

to those who were unhappy and for various reasons were oppressed in their native countries. (1)

The most numerous people belonging to this class were the Scotch Irish and the German Palatines. Both had suffered bitter oppression and privation. Both were driven almost to desperation. More especially was this true of the Palatines during the winter of 1708-1709.

Unable to bear up under these conditions, thousands of them fled from the Palatinate in search of food and shelter and many of them finally landed in England. (2) At this time England was struggling herself with conditions growing out of an overcrowded population, with many poor and unemployed. The sight of these homeless wonderers, however, touched the deep sympathy of Queen Ann and she began making plans to provide for their passage to America. (3) Here they had been led to believe they could erect homes and enjoy absolute freedom from religious and political persecution. They had little idea of any exact location in the new world and they had less in the way of finances with which to purchase land. A certain Wm. Penn had invited them to come over and it was to his colony they wished to go.

That the Penns ever had any intention of giving away land except for certain fixed prices cannot be verified. Their whole land system was planned solely as a profit-making venture. Thus at the beginning of this influx of foreigners we can discern from these two opposing ideas with regard to the land situation that a clash of some sort was inevitable. We cannot help but feel that the poor land policy of the Penns was very greatly responsible for the attitude which many of these German and Scotch Irish immigrants assumed after reaching the colony.

There were several well defined methods of acquiring land in the colony. First, there were the proprietary grants which were, generally speaking, very irregular and informal. There was no definite rule either as to the method of granting the land or as to the extent of the grant. For various considerations, valuable or personal, large tracts quite frequently resulted. Several proprietary manors, as the proprietor's tenths were called, of 10,000 to 20,000 acres

existed. The usual individual grant however did not exceed 500 acres. (4) Another method of acquiring title to land in early Pennsylvania was through the land office. Such grants as were made through such an office were equally as irregular as those made by the proprietor or his representative. Very early the trend of affairs seems to have forecasted failure for Penn's whole system. Constant reforms were necessary and then they were never wholly successful. A final method of acquiring land existed. It was known as settlement rights and it more directly concerns us in dealing with the subject of Squatters. In fact it was the ultimate outgrowth of squatter settlements.

After the year 1769 we find that the tendency toward small holdings became almost a fixed rule. This was not due to any law with regard to such holdings but rather it was due to the practice of the colonists in actual occupation of the land. Squatting though discouraged by the proprietors, since it defrauded them of their quit rents, soon became the most popular method of acquiring lands. James C. Ballagh, discussing the land system in his monograph entitled, "Introduction to Southern Economic History" says,

"Squatter's rights forced their way from presumptive titles to an established position first as personality and finally as reality. They became the basis of land transfer through the customary alienation of improvements instead of legal title." (5)

With these general ideas of early land conditions in mind let us take up more in detail the characteristics of the people whom we are to designate as squatters. We have briefly reviewed conditions and circumstances in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century when thousands of Palatines, "with poverty and misery for companions" braved the perils of the ocean "in order to seek a home in America" the land of plenty and an asylum for the oppressed. (6) These people, unable to come directly to Pennsylvania, had to be contented with landing in New York, since this was the main port of entrance into this country at that time. But, finding demands, charges and unexpected conditions in general, out of harmony with their fondest dreams and which, if submitted, to would have

meant practically serfdom, they cast about for a new place to settle. (7)

Having previously heard of land on Swatara Creek and Tulpethocken, west of Reading in Pennsylvania, many of them united to cut a road from Sechochary to the Susquehanna River. Carrying their goods to this point they made canoes and floated down the river to the mouth of the creek. Their cattle meanwhile had been driven overland. Thus began a settlement in this interior region of Pennsylvania. Others soon followed and settled without the permission of the proprietary of Pennsylvania or his commissioners. Nor indeed did they even have the consent of the Indians. (8)

Upon the alleged invitation of Governor Keith of Pennsylvania many more settlers came into this region. Their cabins had scarcely been constructed when the Indians informed them that their land had not been purchased by the government. They of course insisted that Gov. Keith had given his permission. (9) In 1717 Secretary Logan, becoming somewhat incensed over conditions wrote,

"We have of late a great number of Palatines poured in upon us without any recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own English people." (10)

About the year 1718 the Scotch Irish immigration to Pennsylvania became very pronounced. From the advent of this class into the colony the frontiers were pushed steadily westward. They were a restless adventurous type and did not mix well with the German element. (11) They settled in large numbers in Conestoga Manor, a tract of 15,000 acres reserved by the Penns near the Maryland line where no lands could honestly be sold because of the disputed boundary line. (12) James Logan again writing to the Penns in 1724 calls the Irish, "bold and indignant strangers." Continuing in the same letter he says,

"We have from the north of Ireland great numbers yearly, eight or nine ships this fall discharged at New Castle. It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, last week not less than six ships arrived. In one year's time 5,605 Scotch Irish landed in Pennsylvania." (13)

The deeds of the Scotch Irish and their influence upon the development especially of Western Pennsylvania are well known. When appealed to for appropriating these lands their reply was that, "it was against the law of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread." (14) They pressed into the interior of the province beyond the settlements of other immigrants because land was more easily acquired even if they did take it without the formality of securing a title to it. (15) For this apparent disregard of existing land laws and for their courage and spirit of reckless adventure we are indebted to them for frustrating an absentee landlord system in America. (16) Experiences in Ulster when rents had been raised after they had settled the country and made the lands valuable through their industry, had created in these people an almost inherent hatred and disregard for rents of any kind whatsoever. (17)

The proprietors were slow to recognize the type and character of people with whom they were to deal. The Penns were little concerned about conditions so long as revenue poured in. Changes in the land system were therefore necessarily slow. On the part of the German settlers there seems to have been an inclination to make good their titles for their children's sakes. They desired them to have a settlement that they could depend upon and at the same time be freed from any pretended Indian rights. (18)

At an early period there was an inferior kind of title invented by the rude squatters of the border known as a "tomahawk title." This seems to have consisted in deadening a few trees near a spring and marking others by culling the bark. This procedure while not legal was respected by the settlers as establishing a priority of claim with which it was a grave dishonor to interfere. (19) Such rights as these were often bought and sold among the settlers themselves especially among the poorer class of immigrants who came to the province without means of securing a title by immediate payment. (20)

In 1743, the proprietors began to eject squatters in Southern Pennsylvania. As a preliminary measure they

ordered all land to be carefully surveyed. As matters turned out, however, it proved much easier to give orders than to have them executed. The surveyors and their assistants were resisted, their instruments were broken and they were compelled to withdraw. The Scotch Irish insisted that the land was theirs; they had devoted time and labor to its improvement. In the face of legal proceedings, however, many of them submitted and in the end purchased the land (21)

But it was a different type of settler who crossed the Alleghenies and faced the perils of an unknown wilderness depending almost wholly upon his rifle for food and safety. Stringent orders were issued protesting against persons making settlements beyond Lycoming Creek and those who were already there were given orders to depart. No one, however, in these wild unclaimed regions of Western Pennsylvania ever took such orders very seriously. Agents were laughed at and not infrequently they were maltreated. It is estimated that as early as 1726 about 10,000 Scotch Irish and German immigrants had settled along the western frontier region without the shadow of a right. (22) We are also told that in Northwestern Pennsylvania sturdy, self-reliant pioneers hardened in the eternal conflict between man and nature persisted in occupying forbidden lands in defiance of all orders and proclamations. They fully realized that they were beyond the bounds of lawful authority and could expect little either in the way of encouragement or protection from the proprietory government. (23)

And these Northwestern Pennsylvania pioneers were compelled to adopt a system of government of their own. They were solemnly obligated to support and defend their agreement for mutual support and protection. They gave themselves the name of "Fair Play" men and every year they elected three of their number to constitute a court. Newcomers were obliged to appear before this court and promise under oath to submit to the laws of this community. If they agreed to abide by these conditions they were permitted to take possession of unoccupied lands and were assisted in building their cabins. (24)

The Indians were another source of trouble to the proprietors. They desired some faithful people to be stationed

on the ground with power to remove anyone attempting to settle. Colonial authorities had always had trouble in preventing encroachments on the Indian's hunting grounds. The proprietors forbade any one purchasing land from the Indians, and a law was enacted declaring such purchases as entirely void. But such matters were rather immaterial to the squatter. Wherever he found a vacant piece of land he cleared a few acres and erected his home. And, if necessary, he was prepared to protect his home at the point of his rifle. Yet these people were not a belligerent sort. When officials came into Western Pennsylvania in 1750 to remove certain settlers from Indian Territory, most squatters acknowledged that they had no right or authority to take possession of lands as they had done. Some even later admitted having seen one of the governor's proclamations forbidding such action. Their manner was not one of guilt, however. They did resist being taken into custody by a sheriff and called out,

"You may take our land and our houses and do as you please with them; we deliver them to you with all our hearts, but we shall not be carried to jail." (25)

Meanwhile some of the Indian chiefs communicated with the proprietory of Pennsylvania as follows:

"We have thought a great deal of what you have imparted to us, that ye have come to turn the people off who have settled over the hills. We are afraid not-withstanding the care of the government that this may prove like many former attempts—the people will be put off now and next year will come again * * *" (26)

The result of this plea was of no immediate consequence. True, a number of settlers removed their belongings and their cabins were burned. But ere long they were back on the same spot just as the Indians had prophesied. The rank or standing of the claimant to the land on which they settled meant nothing to them. Washington had been granted a patent to some land around Pittsburgh. But before the patent was issued squatters had settled within the boundaries. Washington entered suit against them but this only served to make them bitter and dangerous. Wash-

ington's lawyer wrote to him concerning the matter that, "if he succeeded in his suit against the settlers on his estate, they would probably burn his barn and fences." (27)

So strong in a few years did the westward movement become that it seemed almost an utter impossibility on the part of the proprietors to prevent the occupation of their lands by squatters. Many liberal concessions were made in order to secure some sort of financial return. Lands on the extreme western frontier were permitted to be taken up without a title. This concession was made in order that their might be a line of defense between the settlements and the Indians. Those who wished to secure a title to such lands could do so by paying ten shillings for one hundred acres. Even at such a low rate very few took advantage of the offer. (28)

In the meantime settlers pushed steadily westward. There was some question as to the exact ownership of land in South Western Pennsylvania. The exact extent of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghanies was disputed by Virginia and so long as the dispute remained unsettled neither colony could legally claim the land and grant titles for settlement. Whether these immigrants knew this or not cannot be conclusively proven. Whatever the case may be squatters settled along the Monongahela, and between the rivers and Laurel Ridge. Later they reached the Ohio River. Braddock's Trail, as it was then known, was the route by which the greater number of them crossed the mountains. A smaller number of them came by way of Bedford and Fort Ligonier, the military road to Pittsburgh. They came to Pennsylvania generally from the upper parts of the then colonies of Maryland and Virginia. They were largely Scotch Irish and Germans. (29) Land was the object which invited these people to cross the mountains, for as the saying was, "it was to be had for taking up." (30)

In 1755 Gov. Morris offered to grant lands west of the Alleghenies free of purchase money and with exemption from quit rents for fifteen years. This offer was extended to all persons in Pennsylvania and neighboring provinces who would join an expedition for the expulsion of the

French. The proprietors for a time seemed inclined to accept this proposition but as they saw the chances of securing any quit-rents from the class of people who would settle there were very small and that if they agreed to forego the legal right of demanding it they would be guilty of an inconsistency which might militate against its collection in more favorable localities, they decided to instruct Gov. Morris to grant lands at the usual quit-rent of a half penny per acre or even a farthing per acre if no more could be obtained. Payment of this rent, however, was not commenced until 1786. The governor was also instructed to provide strict regulations for preventing evasion by the people of the conditions on which the grant should be made. They must actually settle the land and not dispose of it to speculators. (31) The rejection of this offer of so-called campaign lands left little for the proprietors to do but to recognize the squatter's right to the land which he had settled and improved.

In 1768 the proprietory of Pennsylvania purchased from the Indians the country as far west as the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Before an office was opened for the sale of these lands the governor made a proclamation restricting his surveyors to respect the lands of actual settlers who had improved it to the value of £5. Also they were not to be surveyed on warrants or locations of a date posterior to the settlements, except to those by whom settlements were made. (32) Land acquired in this way was not an absolute right or title such as was acquired by warrant, survey, and patent. It was subject to the payment of the price customary at the time of settlement, with interest on such price until paid, minus the value of the improvements. (33)

An act of Sept. 1794 required the raising of grain as one of the conditions necessary to settlement. Instead of this being a hardship upon settlers it was intended for their encouragement. It served as a means of discriminating between bona fide settlers and those who were not such. Anyone who took possession of vacant land without intending to make it his place of residence was in fact a trespasser. And any encouragement shown to such a person operated to the injury of those who intended in good faith

to settle. It prevented them from going upon lands which by law were open to their occupation. The proprietors had in mind persons addicted to agriculture whose means would not allow them to adopt the usual and more regular method of an application warrant and survey, for official surveys could not be obtained according to the regular course of the land office without payment of purchase money. (34)

Slowly but surely the Penns had been playing a losing game. Managerial affairs were badly confused because of a lack of cooperation between the commissioners, the appointed governors and the Penn heirs. Foreign immigrants came into the colony with false impressions regarding rights to land. So long as they remained in the eastern part of the province they could be managed. But as the strict rules of the proprietors bound them to respect the land laws in the east they moved westward establishing settlements as they went. As the arm of the law reached out they moved farther westward until at last they had crossed the Alleghenies. Among the first settlers in Western Pennsylvania was Christopher Gist who had a small group of dwellings near Laurel Hill in the section now known as Ligonier Valley. The St. Clairs settled very early on the site now occupied by Brownsville. A man by the name of Frazier had a small post near the mouth of Turtle Creek. There were other settlements very early in the Beaver Valley, in Chartiers Valley and near the present site of Pittsburgh. In March 1785 William Butler wrote to John Armstrong from Pittsburgh,

"I presume that Council had been made acquainted with the villiany of the people in this country, they are flocking from all quarters, settling and taking up not only the United States' lands, but also the state's. Many hundreds have crossed the river and are daily going, many with their families. The wisdom of the Council I hope will provide against so gross and menacing an evil." (35)

It finally dawned upon the proprietors that little could be done to eject squatters from their lands. Through a hardy perseverence and industry the squatter gained his point and was given a special legal protection. The old time "tomahawk title" gave way to the "law of improvements"

and the power of preemption protected his rights of priority as a settler. Time has erased to a very great extent the disrespect which the term "squatter" seems to have called forth and we may now justly look upon the squatter as the pioneer among homesteaders who later play such an important role in the development of our nation. As for the part which squatters play in Western Pennsylvania there is much yet to be said. I have hardly touched the surface of the subject. However, if in so doing I have awakened an interest in others which shall lead to a more thorough investigation of this subject then my one aim shall have been realized and my efforts shall not have been in vain.

May 29, 1923. **James N. Fullerton.**

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EARLY WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA AGRICULTURE.

It has been well said that Pennsylvania like Gaul is divided into three parts, the eastern, the central, and the western parts. Indeed this is quite true, for upon an examination of the topography and the geology of the land we note three distinct divisions. In order to be coherent with my topic I shall deal with the third part and then only with the southwest because there was little settlement in the northwestern Pennsylvania until after 1800. Settlement in the southwestern Pennsylvania did not take place until after the French and Indian wars. According to Veech, settlement began in 1765. (1) He states that—the great abundance of game; general impunity from the Indians; the fertility of the soil; the fine springs and water courses; the cheap land and the easy access to the roads were the factors which aided in the moulding of this fur trading section into a territory of thriving farms and grain fields. (2)

I have only attempted to cover agriculture up to 1800, hence that leaves only a short period of thirty-five years and as I have stated, material in this field was scarce; much which might be said will remain unsaid and, upon second thought, there will necessarily be transfer of data from eastern and central Pennsylvania, since many of the settlers poured across the mountains into the Allegheny Plateau and brought with them their ideas concerning agriculture.

Now let us consider for a minute European agriculture and see what relations it bears to the agriculture of early western Pennsylvania. In Europe few plants were cultivated. Rye, barley, oats, wheat, beans, vitches, cabbage, and apples were the common crops. (3)

British agriculture had developed little before 1750. Rotation of crops and methods of fertilization were not universally common, but were only practiced by the upper portion of agriculturalists. Modern machinery had not yet come into existence with its revolutionary influence upon crops, prices, methods of cultivation and labor. The im-

plements used resembled those used by the Egyptians four thousand years before. (5) As yet labor was plentiful and products were scarce. Hence only the crudest notions of agriculture were carried into western Pennsylvania by the settlers.

The first settlers endured many hardships. "They generally left better homes in the east, but were willing to endure all manner of hardships for a few years with the hope of abundance later on." (6) "The life of the backwoods was rude and simple in the extreme. The pioneers cleared a little tract of land in the forest, began to farm in a rough sort of a fashion; hunted and traded with the Indians." (7) The Scotch-Irish were the first to scatter about the forts in Western Pennsylvania to farm and trade with the Indians. (8) "These Presbyterian Irish were already a mixed people," and hardened by the frontier activities in Ulster, made tip-top settlers for the frontier of western Pennsylvania. (9)

"The daily labors had to be carried on in constant preparation against surprise. While at work in the fields or forest their trusty rifles had to be within easy reach; sometimes, they even laid them across the plough handles. The women, the children, and the sick were left alone in the house. When the settler returned he little knew whether he would find them alive or not." (10)

The fort played an important role in the lives of the pioneers. "Often in the middle of the night, by the message that the Indians were at hand, the whole family was awakened and in dead silence prepared to move to the fort." (11) Families that had retired in their own homes the night before were found in the fort before dawn. "Upon these occasions the whole population huddled together in the forts. The whole country might have reminded one of a desert region if they had not seen the small fields of corn and other grain waving in the patches of cleared land." (12) Their crops they frequently had to leave in a deserted state during the summer and a great part of their labors was lost by this circumstance.

The losses sustained by their crops were not the only ones. Their sheep, hogs, goats and cows were devoured by

the panthers, bears, and wolves. "A pack of wolves would approach the cabin of a farmer in the quest of pigs or sheep and announce their presence by prolonged howls which terrified the community almost as much as did the war hoop of the Indians." (13) A man was also in danger after nightfall due to an instinct of the wolves to be brave in the dark. The only way one could become safe was to climb a tree. However there was no special delight afforded to one spending his night on the leafy down of a hickory or a stout oak. (14) Horses and cattle frequently got into their fields through breaches in the fences. Squirrels and coons were formidable enemies. They dug out the newly planted fields and feasted upon the ripening grain. (15)

All men presumed to know how to handle a rifle. Small boys looked forward with great pleasure for the time when they could be entrusted with fire arms. (16) "Every acre, every rod of ground which they claimed had to be cleared by the axe, and held with the rifle." (17) "These early pioneers ran the order of defense about the border settlements like a Dakota farmer ploughs a fire guard about his farm." (18) Often the work of guarding was carried on by a party of men each of whom was in military preparation. A sentinel was placed on the outside of the fence so on the least alarm the whole country could repair to their arms. (19)

Another great difficulty which the settlers had to battle with was the decided difference in climate and soil. Frosts and snow set in early in the fall. Frosts came about September 21st. Hunting snows came by October. Winters set in with a great deal of severity. It was no unusual thing to have snows one to three feet deep and of long continuance. (20) The spring was very short. The summers were cooler and more dry than at present. (21) The mills were not expected to grind after May. "All the housewives took care to have a summer supply of flour, otherwise they must revert to a hand mill." (22)

The western pioneers owe much to the American Indian. They practiced the Indian method of agriculture for the first years because the settler was merely concerned with ekeing out an existence for the first year or two. Along

with the Indian corn and squash there was plenty of game and wild meat. Patterson says the early settlers were hunters instead of cultivators of the soil. The Indians were not planters—only scratchers in the soil. They cleared spots along the streams and the flats and carried on agriculture in very primitive fashion. "Their practice was to burn off the trees, scrape up the top soil into little hills, and plant the seed therein. Indian corn was indigenous and the Indians had raised it from time immemorial. Women did the work, and the only implements were their fingers, a pointed stick for planting, and a clam shell or a scapula of an animal for a hoe." (24) Corn was sometimes planted without felling the trees and dead fish were used as fertilizer. Beans and peas were planted between the rows of corn. (25) Tobacco was another indigenous plant and the early pioneers were not long in learning its narcotic use.

The settlers also adopted the Indian method of clearing the earlier sections. The trees were felled by girdling them or by building fire around their bases. When they fell, they were burned into suitable lengths, heaped on a pile and reduced to ashes. This was commendable in that it used a minimum amount of labor, yet, on the other hand, it was quite destructive. (26) "It is estimated that an industrious woman could burn off as many fallen trees in a day as a strong man could cut with a steel axe in two or three days." (27) Penn tried to guard against this destruction of the forests for, in his charter, it is stated that, "A fifth part of the land was to be kept in its original condition." (28) Later different methods of clearing were applied. The timber being sawed into lengths ten to twelve feet and used for building. This was usually a winter's job and the neighbors aided each other. "Money was scarce, labor plenty and cheap, hence grubbing, chopping and logging frolics were frequent and popular." (29)

The whole system of the Indians was wasteful and disorderly but it yielded quick and fairly large immediate returns for a minimum of labor expended. And the first settlers owe their existence for the first several years to this crude agricultural system.

Ernest Bogart, in his *Economic History of the United States*, says that the great attractions to the farmer in the

Middle colonies were three fold, namely, free land, great fertility of the soil, and the assurance of a living and the necessities of life. (30) These attractions, with the exception of the first, were characteristic, in an agreeably large measure, of the entire colony of Pennsylvania, and land, in the west, was cheap, many of the settlers being squatters.

Much can be said on the positive side of the second, namely, the great fertility of the soil. "Among the old thirteen states no richer or more productive soil existed than was to be found in Pennsylvania." Many mountains mark the western section of Pennsylvania but between these mountains are exceedingly fertile valleys. "Generally speaking the soil of Pennsylvania is rich, this is especially true of the limestone regions in the eastern part as well as in some of the counties on the Ohio in the west." (32) These limestone regions are adaptable for grain raising. Greene speaks of Pennsylvania as "the chief granary of the continent." (33) The surface was rolling and, near the streams, hilly. The uplands are fertile and can be cultivated to the very top. (34) Crumrine, in his *History of Washington County*, says, "The county in general is excellent for grazing and well adapted for all the requirements of agriculture". (35) The whole of the western border is well adapted for grain raising and agriculture. (36)

The climate of Pennsylvania in the main is temperate, but yet the extremes of heat and cold are found here. The climate of Western Pennsylvania today is quite different from that of the early pioneer days. The winters were long and severe, the spring short and the summer hot and dry with a short cool fall. Here was also found the variation that Penn spoke of when he wrote home, "The weather often changeth without notice, and is constant almost in its inconstancy." (37)

With this variety of climate and fertile soil the third great factor, namely, the assurance of a living and the necessities of life, was guaranted. All the food, as well as flax and hemp for clothing, leather for shoes, and timber for building, were raised at home. The few things not produced, such as salt, coffee, and implements could be brought over the mountains from the east on pack horses.

With the great variety of soil and climate the pioneers after a few years were able to produce a variety of crops.

The cereal crops seem to have taken a lead from the first. Corn seems to have taken the lead in Western Pennsylvania. According to one author, "Corn was used mainly for bread and by hunters and travelers in the form of 'Johnny Cake', which was originally called journey cake." (38) "Corn is in especial favor. The settlers fed upon it in the winter, and parched grains were carried in the leather wallet to serve as his only food," says Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning the West.* (39) Everybody is familiar with the results of the excessive corn supply in the early nineties of the eighteenth century. It is quite evident that corn was supreme. Rye was another crop which occupied many acres. Both corn and rye were raised especially for the distilling industry. Drink was very common in those days and regarded as an absolute necessity of the agricultural class at harvest or any gathering of the farmers. "For each frolic one or more two-gallon jugs of whiskey were indispensable," says W. J. McKnight, in his *Pioneer Outline of History of Northwestern Pennsylvania.* (40).

Flax culture was the mainstay of our early pioneers. It is readily grown on any soil and the seed gave them pure linseed oil. The finer fiber was spun into cloth and the coarser into a material called "tow". (41) The fabric made of tow or linen was not warm. So a mixture of wools and linen called "linsey-woolsey" was made. (42) The Irish potato was given much attention and was one of the crops which ranked with corn and rye. Buckwheat, millet, oats, barley, hay, peas, tobacco and mellons were raised. Many berries such as strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, and wild grapes were cultivated.

The early settlers were anxious to raise wheat, but they insisted upon raising it upon the highlands first. The good fertile river valleys were considered too damp and also they were hardest to clear. (43). Later the western settlers learned where and how to cultivate wheat, for Jenkins speaks of the wheat production as following, "Wheat was so plentiful in western Pennsylvania and the market so poor that it was customary to feed it to the cattle while rye, corn, and barley had almost no value for man or beast." (44)

Every family besides these fields of a few acres, had its garden planted with smaller vegetables such as beets, parsnips, carrots, and radishes. The later grew to be seven inches in diameter. (45)

An orchard was planted as soon as possible after the clearing had been made. "Large orchards of apple trees are propogated in almost every plantation, which ever produce great quantities of fine, large, and well flavored fruit," says Robert Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania.* (46) Peach and cherry trees were planted and produced luxuriantly.

We shall now turn aside and consider the early methods of planting and harvesting. The whole system was crude and simple.

The ground was prepared with a crude wooden plow dragged by several oxen. Later, and especially among the Germans, the horse was used. (47) "The planters only plough the land once, and do not fertilize it and never allow it to lay fallow", says Michaux. (48) The crops were planted by hand and covered by a hoe or a crooked stick. The weeding and cultivation was done by hand and the hoe. This was not such a task as one might think because the soil was a good loam and the farms were only three or four acres in size.

Wheat and other grains were cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail or trodden out by oxen. "After the country was opened up a new system of reaping was adopted. The fields were run out at the time of sowing in what was called throughs, lands eight feet wide. Two full hand reapers were expected to cut this width and keep up with the gang or else be docked in their pay. The best reaper was selected as the leader and the rest had to follow not far behind to the end of the through. At the end of the through which extended across the field, one half of the reapers took up the sickles and carried them back half way to the starting point, where on the arrival of the other half the sickles were taken up, thus the grain was cut and bound into sheaves by the time the gang reached the beginning." (49) In after years the cradle took the place of the sickle. By this method a man could cut two to three acres in a day.

To flail ten to twenty bushels of wheat was a good heavy day's work. (50)

Hay-making made a special demand upon the human muscles. Expert cutters were engaged long before hand. These experts with the scythe took as much pains as the barber does with his razor. The boys of the neighborhood were used to bring up the rear. Their scythes were hung low and they, the boys, were not expected to make such large cuts. (51)

Little was done in this early frontier but farming, yet every farmer was at times a hunter, a miller, a trapper, a blacksmith, a lumberman, a sailor, and what not. In fact every early western Pennsylvania farmer was a "Jack-of-all trades." (52)

The farmers were free-holders, hence there were few hired servants. In the few cases that did exist, the servants were, "washed, lodged and boarded," by the year receiving in addition from ten to sixteen pounds sterling. (53) In many sections the only available labor was that of the family or a neighbor. Consequently then the planter only cleared a little land so that he and his immediate family could do the work. (54) Women worked in the fields and became quite as expert as the men with the scythe or the cradle. A day's work lasted from daylight to dark. Naturally, then, there was much cooperation among the farmers in harvesting and planting.

The implements used by the western pioneers were as crude as their methods of cultivation. There was not a great variety and even then some of the implements were shared by several farmers. The average farmer had a wooden plow, a spade, a wooden fork, an ax, a scythe, and a saw. (55) With these he could manage and get along reasonably well. The plows were constructed largely of wood and were heavy and clumsy. They usually required four oxen and two men to manage them. Harrows were nothing better than thorn branches cut from the nearest forest. Later these were followed by the triangular harrow. (56) Hay was often hauled with grapevines instead of rope.

There were few farm vehicles. A cart with iron rims, imported from England, passed from father to son. Few of the farmers had wagons but hauled their crops on sleds. (57) Rafts were used on the streams. The German farmer was better equipped than the others. (58)

Domestic animals were produced in large numbers. Cattle provided materials for meat, butter, cheese, and leather. Hogs were found running everywhere. Sheep were plentiful and served as a source of food and clothing. Horses roamed about freely in the woodland. (59)

In addition to these domestic animals the settlers tamed several wild animals. The American reindeer was drafted into service. Beavers were trained to go fishing and bring the catch back to their masters. (60) Wild geese lost their shyness and pigeons, which had wintered in the settlers cabin, became so tame that they flew out in the spring and returned.

In order to keep the swine and the cattle in-side the palisades and the worm fences, a triangular yoke was placed about their necks. A wooden tooth, resembling a wagon spoke, stopped a horse just as he was lifting his front foot. Bells were indispensable to indicate the whereabouts of the cattle or tell when they were approaching the fields." They also served as a protection against wild beasts, rarely ever would a wolf or a bear attack an animal which wore a bell." (61) Bells in fact were the sign of an efficient farmer. Doddridge tells us of a drove of horses, intended for a Baltimore market, on whose necks bells were hung. At the lodging in the mountains two bells were stolen. The drover had not gone far the next morning when he realized that the bells were missing. A man was sent back for the bells. The farmer and the hired man denied stealing the bells. "By a custom of the times the torture of sweating was applied to them." This brought a confession and the bells were forthcoming and hung about the necks of the culprits. When it came time for the owner to use his hickory he said to the thief, "You infernal scoundrel I will work your jacket nineteen to the dozen. Only think what a rascally figure I should make in the streets of Baltimore without bells on my stock." (62)

Much of the timber cut was used for fences. There were different types of fences, but the one which was especially common was the palisade, formed by sticks driven into the ground close to-gether. Another was the rail, made of rails six to eight feet long laid on top of each other at a sufficient angle to remain secure. These were called worm fences because they were so crooked. (63)

We shall now devote a short time to the barns and the homes of these western pioneers. The barn was generally erected of round logs laid in double layers. The roof was made with clap boards at first then straw, and finally shingles. These crude structures were built largely as a protection against the wolves and the bears which roamed at will. They were not much protection against the blasts of winter. (64)

"The houses west of the Allegheny were low cabins made of the trunks of trees from twenty to thirty feet long and four or five inches in diameter placed one above the other and supported by letting their ends into each other." The roof was formed of similar logs. Shingles were fastened to these by large splinters. Two large doors usually took the place of windows. These were hung on wooden hinges and at night were pushed to and closed with a huge log. The chimney which was at one end was also made of tree trunks. The back was covered with clay to separate the flames from the wooden wall. Four or five days are enough for two men to complete such a house. (65) "If well to do, besides the large living room there might be a small bedroom and kitchen and a loft where the boys slept." (66)

Before the lapse of a half century after the settlement began agriculture was a prosperous industry in the eastern and in the western parts of Pennsylvania best adapted to the tillage of the soil and yet legal records make little mention of agriculture before 1784. The General Assembly in that year directs 150 pounds to be granted to the Philosophical Society for the purpose of encouraging agriculture. (67) In 1788 the council made inquiries of the Pennsylvania Agriculture Society concerning the Hessian fly and its effect upon wheat. (68)

One is rather impressed that agriculture had not gone far beyond the primitive stage before 1800. It is a striking

feature that the only industry open to these western pioneers should have developed so slowly. I believe the following reasons reveal the solution:

1. The wilderness required arduous labor and time.
2. Indian assaults were frequent and destroyed many crops, tools, and stock.
3. Wild beasts had their influence too upon crops and stock.
4. Seeds were hard to obtain.
5. The character of the soil was not understood.
6. Tools were crude and difficult to manage.
7. Transportation was inadequate.
8. The amount produced was greater than the amount consumed.
9. Labor was scarce.
10. The farmers were isolated, hence no conventions, no clubs, no societies of any kind. Neighbors were not able to profit by the experience of brother pioneers.
11. Superstition played a large part in planting and reaping.

I have attempted to give a general survey of agriculture up to 1800, a sort of a panorama as it were, and not a detailed account. If I have succeeded in doing this my time and labor has been well spent.

W. J. Hayward.

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14. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
15. Doddridge, *Settlement and Indian Wars Of West Virginia and Pennsylvania*, p. 136.
16. Boucher, *History of Westmoreland County*, p. 217.
17. Roosevelt, *Winning the West*, III, 110.

18. Bausman, *History of Beaver County*, p. 145.
19. Doddridge, *Settlement and Indian Wars of West Virginia and Pennsylvania*, p. 136.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
21. Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 238.
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26. McKnight, *Pioneer Outline of the History of Northwestern Pennsylvania*, p. 218.
27. Bogart, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
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33. Greene, *The Development of American Nationality*, p. 293.
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NOTES AND QUERIES

MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

NOTE BOOK OF COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN.

"Colonel Morgans reply to the Delaware Chiefs, who were in Council at his home near Princeton, May 12, 1779."

To this unsought for, & unexpected Addrefs, I made the following reply——

George Morgan—
Brothers the Delawares

I cannot but thank you for your affectionate Words & kind testimony of your Love with which they are attended—But Brothers, I do not think myself at liberty to accept of any Gift, or Grant of Lands from any Indian Nation—: I am a Servant of the United States & although I enter'd into the Service of my Country through a principle of securing her Liberties, yet I am paid by her, for acting as her Agent, among the Indian Nations & all the good I have done you, it has ben my duty to do—I only lament that I have not had it in my power to serve you, & the other Nations, more effectually; as thereby I should have efsentially served my own.

Brothers.

I have another reason why I cannot consent to accept your generous Gift. It is my Opinion that it would insure your Nation, were I to accept of the kind offer they now make to me, through you—for although I am satisfied as to the Justice of the Act, Yet it would show a bad Example to bad Men, for such you know there are among all Nations, Who might be induced, Under the Appearance of kindnefs & friendship, to make you drunk & take the Advantage thereof, to induce you to sign Writings you do not understand, & to cheat you of your Country—Now, in order to prevent such Evils, I recommend to my Brothers of the Delaware Nation, & to every other Indian Nation, not to make any Gift, Grant, or Sale of Lands, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, but after the maturest repeated deliberations in full Council of the Nation, and in Presence of Commifsioners of Congrefs. For these reasons Brothers, & to convince you of the perfect Friendship, the United States has for your Nation, I desire you will recall what you have said, & not think hard of me for speaking my mind so freely.

George Morgan.

Interpreted by
Daniel Sullivan,
In Presence of General Lewis Morris—

To the foregoing the Delaware Chiefs made the following reply—

Brother Taimenend—

What you have said is very right, but we shall think it very hard if you refuse to accept what the Friendship of our Nation in full Council have afsign'd to you for you & your Children

forever. We therefore insist that you accept the same as a token of their Love to you—

Key-ley-leymont was the Speaker of this which was repeated by Israel—Interpreted by Daniel Sullivan.—

I then spoke to the Chiefs as follows—
Brothers—Chiefs & Wise Men of the Delaware Nation—

You know I never deceived you—I never told you the thing that was not—Therefore believe me now, I tell you it will be good for you to follow my Advice; And when I say I will never impose upon you—I cannot accept the generous Gift of your Nation, but I thank them for their Friendship, which I shall ever retain a due Sense of—

Taimenend—

Interpreted by
Daniel Sullivan—.

To this the Chiefs after a Short Consulation spoke to me by Key-let-leymont as follows—

Brother Taimenend

It is the Resolution of the Delaware Nation that your Children shall forever pofsefs & enjoy the Lands we have described to you & which you yourself refuse to accept— And we now tell you that it must & shall be so— therefore the Delaware Nation do now give the Said Land, to your Children & their Posterity forever—

Interpreted by Daniel Sullivan— George Morgan.—

LETTER WRITTEN BY MRS. ANDREW JACKSON TO BENJAMIN BAKEWELL.

Washington City,
March 8th 1825;

Dear Sir,

I have postponed the acknowledgment of the receipt of the valuable Celery Glafses, which you have had the kindnefs to present to me, believing that I should pafs thro Pittsburgh on my return to Tennefsee and should have the satisfaction to see you and to tender in person, the very grateful obligation which I owe you for this compliment—

But having been seriously indisposed for some weeks, and being still so, Mr. Jackson is on this account compelled to relinquish the pleasure which we had promised ourselves from the visit.

You will, therefore, be pleased to receive this feeble exprefsion of my thanks for so flattering a token of your esteem and kindnefs. Besides its value, as a beautiful sample of domestic industry, it is doubly dear to me as an evidence of the friendly feelings entertained toward me. by your daughter, Mrs. Campbell. Be assured Sir, that the little attentions which I have been enabled to bestow upon her, and her excellent Husband, are far short of their merits, and are more than requited by the kind opin-

ion of which you have authorized me regard these glafses, together with your own, as a token.

Accept with my own, the best wishes of my dear Husband for your prosperity and happinefs, and be pleased to present us respectfully to all your family.

Your obedient Svt.

Rachel Jackson.

To
Benjamin Bakewell, Esq.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

LETTER WRITTEN BY DANIEL WEBSTER TO BEJAMIN BAKEWELL

Washington City,
May 16th, 1836.

Dear Sir,

Allow me the pleasure of introducing Thos. H. Perkins, Esq. of Boston, to your acquaintance. He is a gentleman of first rate standing and character, and well known in most parts of the United States, but has heretofore never been in the Western Country. He is now on a tour, in that direction, and if he should be in your place, I commend him to your kindest notice and regards, as a most estimable man, and a personal friend of mine, of long standing. Yrs. very truly,

Daniel Webster.

To
B. Bakewell, Esq.
Pittsburgh,
Pa.

The
Librarian.

DEPARTMENT OF OLD NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

Pittsburgh Daily Morning Chronicle,
November 13, 1843.

We are glad to perceive that measures have been taken for the formation of a Historical Society in this city. Institutions of this kind are productive of vast benefit to the generations who may succeed the present. The following are the proceedings of the meeting called for the purpose of organizing a Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

At a meeting of several gentleman of this city, interested in collecting and preserving materials relating to the early settlement of this portion of the Western country, on Monday, the 23 ultimo, the Hon. Wm. Wilkins was called to the chair, and Joseph P. Gazzam, M. D., appointed Secretary. After consultation, it was agreed to form an association to be called The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. The Rev. Dr. Upfold presented a draft of a constitution for the society, which having been considered, was unanimously adopted, and the following named gentlemen chosen to fill the several offices created by it, for the ensuing year, to wit:

President,
Hon. Harmar Denny,

Vice-President,
Rev. John Black, D. D.,
Benjamin Bakewell, Esq.,
Hon. William Wilkins,
Richard Biddle, Esq.,

Treasurer,
William H. Denny, M. D.,

Recording Secretary,
David Ritchie, Esq.,

Corresponding Secretary,
Neville B. Craig,

Counsellors,
Rev. George Upfold, D. D.,
Thomas Bakewell, Esq.,
William Addison, M. D.,
Hon. John M. Snowden,
Hon. Charles Shaler,
William Eichbaum, Esq.,

At a meeting of the society held at the Western University, on Thursday, the 22d inst., it was, on motion, Resolved, that the proceedings of the primary meeting, with the list of officers, and a statement explanatory of the objects of the association, be published.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
Saturday July 6, 1793.

Thursday the 4th inftant, the anniverfary of Independence, was celebrated by a number of the inhabitants of this town convened upon Grant's-Hill, and after a few words of an oration by Citizen Brackenridge, sat down to an entertainment, under a booth on the Hill. The following toats were drank, with discharges of artillery at each.

1. The Day, and all who celebrate it elfewhere.
2. The Principles that gave the Day birth.
3. The wife in the Senate and the brave in the Field, who have supported the principles of our Independence.
4. The cause of Liberty in France, and the eftablifhment of the Republic.
5. The cause of Liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, and a reform in the reprefentation of the Commons.
6. The Rights of man in all Countries.
7. The Democrats of America.
8. Ariftocrats where they ought to be.
9. The Weftern Country.
10. The free ufe of our rivers to the Ocean.
11. The poffeffion of Detroit and Niagara, which are ours by Treaty.
12. The reduction of the Savages, and Peace on this foundation.
13. Foreign Commerce and Domestic Manufactures.
14. Agriculture and Mechanics.
15. Literature and Science, the offspring and the ornament of Liberty.

16. Volunteer. The Fair of America. The day was fpent, and concluded with hilarity and good humour.

The Pittsburgh Gazette

Saturday, July 6, 1793.

Thursday being the anniverfary of American Independence, a large company of Citizens from Pittsburgh, met at the tavern of Mrs. Ward on the fouth weftern bank of the Monongahela river, in order to celebrate the important event. The Company consisted of about 50 ladies and gentleman, who, at 3 o'clock sat down to an entertainment prepared by Mrs. Ward which would have done honor to the firft hotel in the United States—Mirth and good humour crowned the fasft, and the evening closed with a splendid ball. After dinner the following toafts were drank, accompanied by a grand discharge of artillery from Fort Fayette.

1. The Day—May the glorious fpirit of 76 never cease to animate the American breaft.
2. The Prefident of theUnited States.
3. The Vice President and both Houfsef of Congress
4. The Commander in Chief and the Troops on the Frontiers—May wifdom direct their councils and honor their hearts.
5. The Secretary of the Treafury.
6. The Governor of Pennsylvania.
7. The Governor of the Western Territory—May misfortune never be the criterion of merit.
8. The Memory of Major General Butler and of thofe Heroes, who difcharging that duty which they owed to themfelves and to their country fell gallantly fighting.
9 The American Fair—May their prudence and induftry equal their charms.
10. The French Nation—May their efforts to obtain freedom be fuccefsful.
11. The Marquis la Fayette.
12. The French Army—May moderation and virtue direct their councils, and valor brace their arms.
13. The Western Territory—Population to its wilds, and civilization to its citizens.
14. Freedom to our Trade, and fuccefs to our Manufactures.
15. The Town of Pittsburgh—May it be as celebrated for the unanimity and induftry of its inhabitants, as for the elegance of its fituation.

The Pittsburgh Gazette

Saturday, July, 6, 1793.

"ORATION"

By Citizen Brackenridge, on the Celebration of the Anniversary of Independence, July 4, 1793.

The celebration of the day, introduces the idea of the principle that gave it birth. The wisdom of the king of Great Britain who faw the growing greatnefs of the provinces, that they were now of age to act for themfelves and bade them be independent? No—The wifdom of the parliment of Great Britain, that feeing the inconvenience or impoffibility of our being reprefented in the legiflature, and fenfible of the unreasonablenefs of being bound by laws without being reprefented, saw the expediency of a feparation from them, and said to us, be independent and become an allied power? No—Nothing of all this, The king and parliament of Great Britain, were of opinion that without reprefentation, we were bound by their laws, and though defcendants of their ifle, had no right to freedom in a great forest.

Whence then our independence? It was the offspring of the underftanding and the virtue of the people of America themfelves. The eloquent advifed, the brave fought; and we fucceeded. The day on which we affumed our rights became a festival, and every future year fhall remember it. The celebration of the day introduces the idea of the effect of it beyond the fphere of the ftates. The light kindled here has been reflected to Britain, and a reform in the reprefentation of the commons is expected.

The light kindled here has been reflected to France, and a new order of things has arifen. Shall we blame the intemperature of the exertions? Was there ever enthufiafm without intemperance? and was there ever a great effect without enthufiafm? Thy principles; O! Liberty, are not violent or cruel; but in the defperation of thy efforts againft tyranny, it is not always poffible to keep within the limit of the vengeance neceffary to defence. Do we accufe the air, or, the baftile of the mountain, when the rock is burft, and the town engulphed? The air of itfelf is mild, and scarcely wafts a feather from its place. But reftrained and imprifoned, the yeilding and placid element becomes indignant, and fears the globe before it. Do we accufe the hurricane, when the mariner is toffed with the tempeft, and is an incidental sufferer in the ftorm? The naturalist does not. He tells you that the equilibrium of the atmofphere has been difturbed, and if man has suffered more than the demerit of his tranfgreffions, it is in a ftruggle of nature to reftore itself.

Is it the duty of thefe ftates to affift France? That we are bound by treaty, and how far, I will not say; becaufe it is not neceffary. We are bound by a higher principle, if our affiftance could avail; the great law of humanity.

We might, it is true, alledge the ftipulations of a treaty, and the guarrantee of her poffeffions to France. But all the world would know, and we ought to avow it, that it is the cause of republicanism which would induce our efforts. The tyrant of Great Britain alleged the ftipulations of a treaty relative to the opening of the Scheldt, and waited for no requisition on the part of Holland to observe the guarantee. But all the world knew, and he might have avowed it, that it was not the opening of the Scheldt, but the attack upon monarchy that prompted his interpofition. Shall kings combine, and fhall republics not unite? We have united. The heart of America feels the caufe of France; fhe takes a part in all her councils; approves her wifdom; blames her exceffes; fhe is moved, impelled, elevated and depreffed, with all the changes of her good and bad fortune; fhe feels the same fury in her veins; fhe is toffed and fhaken with all the variety of hopes and fears, attending her fituation: Why not? Can we be indifferent? Is not our fate interlaced with hers? For, O! France if thy republic perifh, where is the honor due to ours? From whom refpect to our flag uon the feas? Not from France restored to a monarch, and indignant at thefe very feelings which are now our glory:

Not from the defpots that are againft her; thefe will eafily recollect that the caufe of their evils took their rise here.

Can we affift France by arming in her favor? I will not fay that we can. But could we, and would France say, United States, your neutrality is not fufficient; I expect the junction of your arms with mine; your heroes on the foil, and your privateers, on the ocean, to diftrefs the foe; who is there would not fay, it fhall be fo: you fhall have them; our citizens shall arm; they shall attack; our oaks fhall defcend from the mountains; our veffels be launched upon the ftream, and the voice of our war, however weak, fhall be heard with yours.

If we ourfelves fhould judge that our arms could affift France, even though the generous republic required it not, yet who would hefitate to interfere, not only at the rifk of property; but life itfelf? Is it illufion, or do I hear France fay; My daughter America; I know the dutifulnefs of thy heart toward me: and that thou art difpofed to fhow it by taking part in this war. But I wifh thee not to provoke hoftilities for my fake. If I perifh, I perifh: but let not a mother draw in a haplefs child to fuffer with herfelf. Is it illufion; or do I hear America, reply? I do, and it is in the language of the Moabitifs Ruth. to her mother-in-law, the Jewifh Naomi "Intreat me not to leave thee or re-

turn from following thee; for wither thou goeft, I will go, and where thou lodgeft, I will lodge; thy people fhall be my people, and thy God, my God; where thou dieft, I will die, and there will I be buried.

Go do fo to me, and more alfo, if ought but death fhall part thee and me."

But whether we affift or not; thy caufe, O! France, will be triumphant. Did the enthufiafm of a fmall Roman people repel their invaders, until Rome became the protecrefs of nations? Did the enthufiafm of a few Greeks, repel the millions of Afia, and afterwards overrun her kingdoms? Did the enthufiafm of the Saracens in a few years fpread to Spain on the one hand, and the Indus on the other? Did the enthufiafm, of a few mad Crufaders, burft upon the Saracen, and eftablifh the kingdom of Jerufalem in the center of his empire? And fhall the enthufiafm of a brave people more numerous than the early Roman republic; the Greeks under Alexander, the Saracens of Arabia, or the Crufaders of Europe, be fubdued by all that are againft them?

The weight will but condenfe refiftance, and as the materials of explofion in the ordonance acquire a fpring by confinement, fo in proportion to the attack of this people, Will their voice be terrible, their blow irrefiftable.

France will be independent alfo, and celebrate her anniverfaries; and in doing fo will recollect that our independence had preceded hers and made the example.

The anniverfary of the independence of America will be a great epocha of liberty throughout the world.

Proceed we then to celebrate the day; advance to the feftive board; pour out libations to fentiments of liberty, and let the loud mouthed artillery be heard on the hill.

The

Librarian.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

---

Of Western Pennsylvania Historial Magazine published Quarterly at Pittsburgh, Pa., for April 1st, 1923. State of Pennsylvania County of Allegheny.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared O. S. Decker, who, having been duly sworn according to law deposed and says that he is the Chairman, Pubn. Committee of the Western Penna. Historical Magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, The Historical Society of Western Penna., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Editor, Alfred P. James, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Managing Editor, Same
Business Managers, None.

2. That the owners are:
The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William H. Stevenson, President, Pittsburgh, Pa.
B. S. Patterson, Sec'y, Pittsburgh, Pa.
John E. Potter, Treas., Pittsburgh, Pa.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(s) O. S. Decker, Chr. Publ. Com.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of April, 1923.

(s) Eleanore B. Kirk,
Notary Public

My commission expires March 7, 1925.

GIFTS AND LOANS

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in its building at Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, maintains a Museum for the preservation of relics, pictures and documents associated with the history of Western Pennsylvania and adjoining territory. Hundreds of articles, many of which constitute a priceless talisman in the annals of the country about the Forks of the Ohio, have been donated to the Society and are treasured in the Museum for the education of posterity.

Constant additions are being made to these gifts and the Society especially desires that all persons interested in preserving relics and documents relating to the history of Western Pennsylvania take advantage of the opportunity for safeguarding them in the custodianship of this organization. Books and documents by Pennsylvania authors, and pictures, documents and articles that have belonged to eminent Pennsylvanians of the western counties of the State are solicited. Acknowledgment of donations and loans will be made in succeeding issues of the Historical Magazine.

Historical Hall is open for visitors each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M., and on Sundays from 2 P. M. to 4 P. M. when access is had to the library and Museum.

Emma D. Poole, Librarian

Send remittances for subscriptions to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Potter Title & Trust Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

OCTOBER, 1923

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 4

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STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA JOINS IN FOSTER CELEBRATION.

More and more the people of America are coming to honor the memory of individuals other than military heroes. We are at last beginning to realize that it is our duty to perpetuate the names of soldiers of peace just as much as soldiers of war. Great inventors, scientists, explorers, authors, musicians, and writers of verse are today contributing more to the happiness and success of mankind than in any other period of history.

It was therefore a happy thought on the part of Mr. William H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the Board of Directors when they decided to invite the City Council of Pittsburgh, and the Chamber of Commerce to participate in a program on July 4, 1923, honoring the memory of Stephen Collins Foster, America's greatest writer of Folk songs. It is not generally known outside of Western Pennsylvania that Foster was a native of Pittsburgh, that he spent the greater part of his life here, and that his remains are buried in old Allegheny cemetery.

Stephen Collins Foster was born July 4, 1826, on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and it was on the anniversary of his birth, July 4, 1923, that the state of Kentucky, whose fame Foster had immortalized by the song "My Old Kentucky Home," paid him due recognition. The Old Kentucky Home Commission, created by an act of the Kentucky legislature in 1922, successfully conducted a state-wide program for raising funds to purchase the old Rowan Home, Federal Hill, near Bardstown, Kentucky.

It was in this beautiful old southern home that young Foster, while visiting his kinsmen, Colonel John Rowan in 1852, wrote the words of that immortal song "My Old Kentucky Home." And when Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky, speaking for the members of the Old Kentucky Home Commission, invited the citizens of Pittsburgh to

join with the people of the old Bluegrass state in publically honoring the memory of Stephen Collins Foster on the ninety-seventh anniversary of his birth, the invitations were gladly accepted.

The Pittsburgh representatives, consisting of the President and officers of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the city council and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, chartered a special Pullman car, and left for Bardstown, Kentucky, on the afternoon of July 3rd. The Historical Society was represented by its president, William H. Stevenson, John E. Potter and General A. J. Logan. The city council was represented by Daniel Winters, president, and Robert Garland, while A. L. Humphrey, president of the Chamber of Commerce, Thomas A. Dunn, and F. D. Marshall represented the latter organization. Dr. John W. Oliver represented the University of Pittsburgh. Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Rose (Mrs. Rose is a granddaughter of Foster's) and their two children, Dorothy and Dallas Clayland, and William Barclay Foster, a nephew, accompanied the party as special guests of honor and were presented to the audience by Councilman Robert Garland. Ex-congressman James Francis Burke of Pittsburgh delivered the chief address for the visiting delegation.

Upon arriving at Louisville at seven thirty o'clock on the morning of July 4th, the Pittsburgh delegation was met by a reception committee, headed by Mayor Houston Quinn, and tendered a breakfast at the Seelback Hotel. The party was then taken for a short drive about the city. Returning to the station, the private car, bearing the Pittsburgh party was attached to the special train carrying the Kentucky delegation from Louisville to Bardstown. Governor Morrow and his party, including the members of the Old Kentucky Home Commission, and Mayor Quinn and his friends, joined the Pittsburgh party and acted as hosts for the visitors.

Upon reaching the historic city of Bardstown, their local Chamber of Commerce met the visitors and extended them an enthusiastic welcome. After an automobile trip about the city, the visitors were conducted through the historic old St. Joseph's Cathedral, the first cathedral built west of the Allegheny mountains, and the second oldest in

THE FOSTER HOMESTEAD

THE OLD KENTUCKY HOME
Bardstown, Ky.

the United States. Following the dinner served by the Bardstown Chamber of Commerce, the visitors were then driven to Federal Hill, where stands the historic old Rowan home, immortalized for all time by the genius of Stephen Collins Foster, as "My Old Kentucky Home." There, assembled beneath the trees on that sloping hillside were some 20,000 people, gathered from all parts of Kentucky, many from distant states, eager to participate in the memorial exercises on the patriotic day.

Old Federal Hill and its historic surroundings breathes the spirit of Kentucky hospitality. John Rowan, the builder of that old home was himself a native Pennsylvanian. He was born in York County, this state. Following the close of the Revolutionary War, he went west, settled near Bardstown, in Nelson County, Kentucky. And in building his home in the "wilderness of the west," little did he think that in years to come, another Pennsylvanian, gifted with the genius of a great composer, would immortalize that home for all time to come. But such was the destiny of fate!

Here the social and cultural life of Kentucky centered for more than half a century. Soldiers, statesmen, artists and writers gathered there, and enjoyed the famed hospitality of the Rowan Home at Federal Hill. Among the great throngs that gathered therein during the course of years were three young men who were destined in later life to make themselves famous in the field of art and letters,—Theodore O'Hara, William Haines Lytle, and Stephen Collins Foster. O'Hara, author, soldier and poet, wrote the "Bivouac of the Dead," and "A Dirge for the Brave Old Pioneer." Lytle was likewise soldier, poet and orator, whose ode of Anthony to Cleopatra entitled "I am Dying, Egypt, Dying," has become a literary classic.

But it was the third member of this tri-umvirate, Stephen Collins Foster, a native Pittsburger, who was destined to achieve greatest fame by composing the immortal song, "My Old Kentucky Home," while visiting at Federal Hill in the year 1852. In later years it became the state song for Kentucky, and is said to be the most widely translated song in all the world. One authority says it has been translated into all the languages of Europe, into many

Asiatic languages, and sung by people in the "Isles of the Sea." (1)

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the city of Pittsburgh, and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce all brought deserving honor to themselves by participating in this historical program. Ex-congressman James Francis Burke, in delivering his masterful eulogy upon Foster well said that "Now after a lapse of sixty years, on this sacred spot of southern soil, the sons and daughters of Kentucky and Pennsylvania join in their tributes to the minstrel in whose heart that song was born, and dedicate to his memory the scene in which he found his inspiration."

President A. L. Humphrey for the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce presented to the Old Kentucky Home a beautiful painting of Stephen Collins Foster, which is to adorn one of the rooms in that historic shrine.

Daniel Winters, president of the City Council for the City of Pittsburgh presented a bronze tablet which has been placed upon the walls of the old home, bearing the following inscription:

1826 1864

In memory of
STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER
Born in Pittsburgh, Pa., July 4, 1826
Who on a visit to Kentucky in 1852,
wrote in this House the immortal song:
"My Old Kentucky Home"
Presented by
The City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
1 9 2 3

William H. Stevenson on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, presented de luxe copies of the souvenir program to the Governor of Kentucky and also to the Women's Committee who restored and have the care of the old Rowan homestead.

JOHN W. OLIVER.

(1) *Current Literature*, July 1901.

BRONZE TABLET

THE FIRST CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, NOVEMBER 15TH-18TH, 1881.

A STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY LOCAL NEWSPAPERS AS A SOURCE

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The possibilities of local history in America are increasingly realized. Not the least of these possibilities is training in historical method. In larger places the files of several newspapers are usually accessible to the historical student. In spite of the toil and fatigue connected with research in newspaper files, there is something peculiarly attractive about such work. When, as is sometimes the case, the information sought has peculiar, great or permanent value, the incitement so necessary to satisfactory research is raised to a high pitch. If, in addition, some outside source exists by which to test the accuracy of the parallel newspaper material the demands of research as regard material are almost completely met. The combination of all these elements is responsible for this paper. (a)

The National Labor Congress which proved in its outcome to be the first convention of the American Federation of Labor met in Pittsburgh in November, 1881. Of the fifty three or more journals (1) published in Pittsburgh at that date, eleven or more were daily newspapers of the ordinary type. (2) Of these dailies of the ordinary type,

(a) I am indebted to Mr. Donald Couch, one of my pupils, for an important preliminary investigation of this subject as a term paper theme.

(1) *Diffenbacher's Directory of Pittsburgh*, 1881-1882 (Diffenbacher & Thurston, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1881), page 880.

(2) *Ibid.* Of the remainder, seventeen were definitely trades journals, industrial, commercial or professional. Five were definitely labor papers. Seven were definitely religious papers. Three were local community or ward papers. Two were social and cultural in a special sense. Four were weeklies but whether of the political, religious or labor type it is difficult to determine exactly. Of the other three it is impossible to say anything. It might be mentioned here that city directories can be used as a source of considerable value in a study of the rise and decay of journals and types of journalism. The directories of Pittsburgh, for instance, are complete since 1852 and the Carnegie Library contains scattered volumes for the period since 1815.

the files of five of the seven (3) or more in the English language and one of the four (4) in the German language are accessible in the Carnegie Library. (5)

Of the five English newspapers whose files are accessible, three (6) received on the last day of the convention a note of thanks, "for their very faithful reports of the proceedings of this Congress" (7) and would seem to possess particularly high value as a record. The other two (8) were not in good favor by reason of difficulties with the local printers union and their reporters were excluded from the hall of the convention. (9) Just why the German newspaper, *Der Freiheits Freund*, whose files are accessible and which apparently was not involved in union difficulties, was omitted from the note of thanks is uncertain, beyond the fact that only English papers were included.

The minutes of the meetings of the convention, (10) presumably an accurate if not altogether complete record, (11) though out of print, are available in some of the larger libraries and serve as a standard to test the accuracy of the accounts found in the six newspapers, the files of which are accessible in the Central Library.

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(3) *Commercial Gazette, Evening Chronicle, Evening Telegraph, Daily Post, Times, Dispatch and Leader.*

(4) *Der Freiheits Freund, Beobachter, Volksblatt and Republicaner.*

(5) The first five above named in English and *Der Freiheits Freund.*

(6) *Commercial Gazette, Evening Chronicle and Evening Telegraph.*

(7) *Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor,* 1881-1888. (Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1906), page 24. The *Dispatch, Labor Tribune, Sunday Critic* and *Globe* were included in the note of thanks.

(8) *Daily Post, Times.*

(9) The *Times,* November 16, mentions the case of its reporter. *Der Freiheits Freund,* November 16, mentions the case of the reporter of the *Daily Post.* These two papers are therefore of weakened historical value on this topic.

(10) *Proceedings, loe cit.*

(11) The complete accuracy of these cannot be guaranteed in theory or in fact. Note that the Pantagraph edition used, says, "Report of the First Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1881. Published by the authority of the Federation." This is a good example of the lack at times of historicity in official documents.

Careful comparison of the seven accounts and satisfactory organization of the results seen should make an interesting study in local history.

The call for this Congress was a result of a meeting held in Terre Haute, Indiana, in August 1881. (12) This Terre Haute convention resolved to hold a Congress of Labor Unions of the United States in Pittsburgh on November 15th. The object of the Congress was officially stated in a formal call, (13) addressed and sent to all the Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. This call, in view of the fact that the objects outlined were later adopted by the Labor Congress and have consistently formed the policy of the organization for forty years, deserves quotation in full. It was in the following language:

"Fellow-workingmen:— The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of Labor—one that will concentrate our forces so as to more successfully cope with concentrated capital.

"We have numberless trades unions, etc., all engaged in a noble task of elevating and improving the conditions of the working class. But, great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations in a federation of trades.

"In Great Britain and Ireland annual trades unions congresses are held. The work done by these assemblies of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of arguments.

"Only in such a body can proper action be taken to promote the general welfare of the industrial classes. There we can discuss and examine all questions affecting the national interests of each and every trade and by a combination of forces secure that justice which isolated and separated trade and labor unions can never fully command.

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(12) *Proceedings*, page 6; *Evening Chronicle*, November 14; *Telegraph*, November 14.

(13) Quoted in full in *Proceedings*, page 6, and *Evening Chronicle*, November 14. Quoted in part in *American Federation of Labor, History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book* (Washington, D. C., 1919), page 41. Paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 are accurately quoted in *Times*, November 15.

"A National Trades Union Congress can prepare labor measures and agree upon laws they desire to be passed by the United States Congress and form a Congressioanl Labor Committee to urge and advance legislation upon measures wanted at Washington and report to the various trades.

"In addition to this, an annual Congress of Trades Unions could organize a systematic agitation to propogate trades union principles and to impress the necessity of protective trade and labor organizations and to encourage the formation of such unions and thus amalgamation in trade assemblies. Thus we could elevate trade unionism and obtain for the working classes that respect for their rights to which they are justly entitled.

"A federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial and can be provided for by the Trades Union Congress.

"Impressed with the necessity of such a federation and the importance of a National Trades Union Congress to perfect the organization, we, the undersigned delegates in a preliminary convention assembled at Terre Haute, Indiana, do hereby resolve to issue the following call:

"That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils and local trades or labor unions are cordially invited to send delegates to a National Trades Union Convention to be held at Pittsburgh on the third Tuesday of November, 1881. Each local union will be entitled to one delegate, for one hundred members or the major part thereof, also one delegate for each international or national union, and one delegate for each trade assembly or council."

The corresponding secretary, M. W. Moore, was able to report on November 6, that 55 organizations had responded. (14) These embraced printers, painters, cigar makers, moulders, carpenters, shoe makers, plasterers, seamen, iron and steel workers, marine and pastry cooks, window-glass workers, spinners, cigar-packers, bookbinders, cap-finishers, boot-makers, furniture workers, cap-coverers, horsesmiths, and granite cutters. (15) Notice of intention

(14) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14.
(15) *Ibid.*

to participate had been given in advance by a long list of delegates. (16) According to a conservative estimate (17) at least 120 were expected to be present when the roll was called, while a less cautious statement (18) was made that 400 to 500 delegates were expected to be present.

Delegates of the convention began to arrive in Pittsburgh on Saturday, November 12. (19) Between fifty and sixty delegates had arrived by Monday night, November 16. (20) Others came in on Tuesday and later.

The newspapers contain references to unofficial preliminary conferences not mentioned in the minutes. One was "a conference" Monday afternoon "of foreign delegates" to be "held at the St. Clair Hotel for the purpose of blocking out a plan of operations for the meeting" on Tuesday. (21) Another was a caucus of the Allegheny County delegates on Monday night and Tuesday morning (22) with the object of consulting "as to the rules of the Congress and also to select subjects which the delegation consider(ed) as most desirable for the Congress to take action upon." (23)

Advance notice and comment on the convention appeared in all six newspapers. (24) While sometimes mainly news items of a common type, some of the newspaper material is interpretive of local sentiment in regard to the convention. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 15, says, "There are a number of radical Socialists from abroad who will attend

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(16) List given *Telegraph*, November 14. It includes 35 names. Identical *Times*, November 15.

(17) *Commercial Gazette*, November 14.

(18) *Daily Post*, November 15. *Freiheits Freund*, November 14.

(19) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14. Cf. *Times*, November 14.

(20) *Commercial Gazette*, November 15. Cf. *Evening Chronicle*, November 14, "and a large number on the morning trains to-day"; *Daily Post*, November 15.

(21) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14.

(22) *Evening Chronicle*, November 15.

(23) *Ibid*, November 15. In view of later developments I suspect another object of these caucuses was organization for capture of the federation. This was the impression given some of the foreign delegates according to the *Evening Chronicle*, November 15, which, however, asserted, "Nothing was further from their thoughts."

(24) *Commercial Gazette*, November 15. Other papers, November 14, and, in the case of morning papers, November 15, also.

the Congress" and voiced the rumor of the probable development of "an inharmonious spirit," while foreseeing better results in "eminently practical" Pittsburgh.

The *Telegraph*, November 14, remarked, "The work of the convention will be important." On November 15, it added, "The Labor Congress — seems to be capable of the greatest amount of good that can be accomplished by labor organizations." The *Telegraph* spoke favorably, on the same day, of the idea of federation, but added, "Like all other self-constituted organizations, it must depend upon public sympathy for its real force, and this can only be obtained when its acts are just and based on the broadest principle of right." Its final statement was, "The best interests of both capital and labor may be consulted in the most complete and extensive organization of each, when based upon the broad intelligence and love of justice that are characteristic of the American people."

The *Commercial Gazette*, November 15, remarked, "The delegates have been selected with especial reference to their fitness for the duties they are expected to perform."

The *Daily Post*, November 15, states, "The work of the Congress will be highly interesting."

Newspaper reporters evidently got busy early. The objects and expectations of the delegates are stated in advance with satisfactory accuracy, (25) with the exception of too sanguine statements in regard to a tariff "protective in the highest degree." (26) The best statement of the objects of the Congress was given to a reporter of the *Commercial Gazette* by one of the delegates, probably Samuel Gompers (27) of the International Cigar-Makers Union

(25) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14 and 15; *Telegraph*, November 14; *Commercial Gazette*, November 15; *Freiheits Freund*, November 14; *Daily Post*, November 14; *Times*, November 14.

(26) *Evening Chronicle*, November 15; *Commercial Gazette*, November 15.

(27) With this impression I wrote Mr. Gompers, who replied, October 19, 1922, "So far as my memory serves me, I think you are safe in attributing to me the interview given in the Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette of November 15, 1881. As you can appreciate, forty years is a long period of time, in a life that has been as crowded as mine, to state definitely whether I did or did not give a certain interview on a certain day for a certain paper."

of New York. In the opinion of this delegate, "the object of the gathering is to concentrate the forces of labor, in order that needed reforms may be the more easily obtained. In the federation it is proposed to form, all questions affecting the national interests of the various trades will be discussed, a Congressional Labor Committee to secure the passage of such laws as are needed by the various trades to better their condition. In addition, the yearly meetings of the association will bring the principles of trade unionism before the public in their proper light and new organizations will be formed in localities which are now hostile to organized labor. In Great Britain an organization similar to the one proposed has long existed; yearly meetings are held, and the result has been to greatly ameliorate the condition of the working people. Committees are appointed each year which exercise a general supervision over the affairs of all trades; direct agitation when it is needed, and pay particular attention to securing the passage of beneficial and the repeal of obnoxious laws. The result has been satisfactory in the highest degree, and promises to continue so, as the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Henry Broadhurst, has recently been elected to Parliament, and within the House of Commons can accomplish much more than he could outside.

"The advisability of organizing a federation of all the trades in this country has been under discussion for a long time, but it was not until last August, when a national convention of trade unionists was held in Terra Haute, Indiana, that any decisive steps were taken. The subject was fully discussed at that convention, and as a result the Congress which meets today was called. The federation will be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial, and can easily be provided for." (28)

With such objects and motives the first session of the convention was called to order at 2:00 P. M. on November 15, by L. A. Brant of Detroit, president of the Standing

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(28) *Commercial Gazette,* November 15.

Committee. (29) A prayer for guidance was offered by K. McKenzie, a delegate from New York. (30) President John Jarrett, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, an organization which stood well in the community for its prudence and wisdom, (31) was chosen Temporary Chairman with M. L. Crawford of Chicago, and H. H. Bengough of Pittsburgh as Temporary Secretaries. (32)

The first action of the meeting, after temporary organization, was the appointment of a Committee on Credentials, consisting of one delegate from each of the twelve states represented. (33)

While this committee spent about two hours (34) upon its work, the Chairman gave the delegates an opportunity "to express their views." (35)

These speeches, five in number, (36) all "displayed

(29) *Proceedings*, page 6; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16. The *Times*, November 16, says, "L. A. Brant of Chicago."

(30) *Proceedings*, page 6. Five papers on November 16. *Evening Chronicle*, *Telegraph*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Times*, give his name as "A. M. McKenzie." The *Post* omits the matter.

(31) Editorial, *Daily Post*, November 17.

(32) *Proceedings*, page 7, mention W. C. Pollner as one of the temporary secretaries. This fact is not mentioned in any one of the six papers at this point all of whom, on November 16, mention Jarrett, Crawford and Bengough, though the *Commercial Gazette* notices the fact on November 17 in connection with the election of permanent officers.

(33) *Proceedings*, page 7. All the papers of November 16 mention this, the *Daily Post*, however, omitting the number of states represented.

(34) *Telegraph*, November 16. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, says, "The Committee on Credentials returned about half past four o'clock." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 16, says, "It was about four o'clock." The *Times*, November 16, says, "After two hours had passed." The matter is omitted by *Proceedings*, *Evening Chronicle* and *Daily Post*.

(35) *Daily Post*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 7, *Evening Chronicle*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Times*, all of November 16 and all of which merely say speeches were made. The matter is omitted entirely in the *Telegraph*.

(36) *Proceedings*, page 7; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. The *Daily Post*, November 16, mentions only four speeches. The number of speeches made is not given in the remaining four papers.

moderation and intelligent understanding of the relative positions of capital and labor." (37) "All were conservative in tone, and, while the difference between labor and capital was referred to as a conflict that was irrepressible, none of the speeches were in the slightest degree communistic. On the contrary, the intelligence and moderation displayed was remarkable. All the speakers expressed themselves as being in favor of the greatest moderation." (38) In the language of the *Times*, "There was no tinge of the socialistic about these speeches, and if the communistic element is represented in the Congress, the representatives had the good sense to sit still and listen to cooler counsel from more conservative men." (39)

Mr. A. C. Rankin, of the Iron Moulders of Pittsburgh, "made an interesting and vigorous speech." (40)

"Mr. M. Gompers, of the International Cigar-Makers Union, gave a very interesting narrative of the struggles of his union. When first organized different branches charged different dues and different initiation fees, but this plan didn't work well. Then a uniform rate of dues and a uniform rate of initiation fees was made for all lodges in the country. The fund was considered general, and if a lodge in Lincoln, Nebraska, needed money, they could send to New York and demand $500. If one lodge necessarily spent more than pro-rata that lodge could demand the New York or Pittsburgh lodge to send money until the funds of each were balanced.

"Another difficulty encountered by this union was that sometimes a strike would be declared when it was useless, and although the union sent money to strikers they would be whipped. For this reason it was determined that a general executive committee or advisory body should pass on all propositions to strike for an increase in wages, and the speaker thought it would be a good idea also if every member of the Union had the privilege of voting, whether any particular lodge should strike for an increase. In that case

(37) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16.
(38) *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, quoted. Cf., also, *Freiheits Freund*, November 16, for a similar comment.
(39) November 16, Cf. *Freiheits Freund*, November 16.
(40) *Daily Post*, November 16. This is the sole comment. The speech is not given in papers or *Proceedings*.

each member would feel personally responsible and would contribute more willingly to sustain the strike." (41)

Gompers "closed with a long string of very valuable suggestions to the Congress". (42) He "said he had come to Pittsburgh, not to air his opinions, but to work, not to build a bubble, but to lay the foundations for a superstructure that would be solid, and that would be a true federation of trade unions. He was in favor of progressing slowly, and wanted the organization to be emphatically a workingmen's organization; one that is not defied by money, but which will in itself contain the elements of strength—the organization—could not be good unless the founders were good, could not be honest unless they were honest; therefore, the elements essential to success were goodness, honesty, industry and practicability." (43)

"R. E. Weber of the Printer's Assembly, Knights of Labor, of this city, related the experience of the *Dispatch* printers during the last strike, when the proprietors of that paper brought on printers from Cincinnati to take the place of the home printers. The strikers sent committees to other Assemblies of the Knights of Labor and in every case an audience was given the committee. The strikers thus got their side of the case before fellow workingmen and from nearly every Assembly they also received financial aid. Where money was given freely the printers accepted it as a gift, but in some cases they borrowed the money, most of which they have since paid back. Mr. Weber predicted that all newspapers in the city will surely come under control of their Union, pointed out the strength of the workingmen when all trades are united to support each other, and closed with the assertion that if the striking mechanic knew he could go every Saturday and get money to keep

(41) *Daily Post*, November 16.

(42) Statement of *Daily Post*, November 16.

(43) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 16. The substance of this is given in the *Freiheits Freund*, November 16. The *Times* in a general comment on the five speeches, November 16, says, "A general desire was expressed for the formation of an organization that would advance the cause of labor, honestly and fairly." This idea plainly came from the speech of Gompers.

him from starving, he would be a much stronger union man than if no money awaited him." (43a)

"R. Powers, of the Seamen's Union of the Lakes, was the next speaker. He related in detail the efforts of ship owners to break up their union and closed by telling changes in the marine laws desired by his Union. One case objected to is that requiring a sailor to pay $15 down if he desires to bring suit for the recovery of wages or for any other cause. They also want a new law providing that at least two-thirds of the crew on any one ship shall be American citizens". (44)

The speech of W. G. McKean, Erie Typographical Union No. 77, which followed that of Mr. Gompers and preceded that of Mr. Weber, does not seem to have attracted attention and is nowhere reported.

On its return the Committee on Credentials reported that ninety-six delegates had presented proper credentials and were entitled to seats. (45) These delegates representing twelve states and a large number and variety of labor organizations, (46) in answering the roll call, gave the number of members in the organizations they represented. (47) Reporters estimated the number represented

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(43a) Quoting *Daily Post*, November 16. Contents of speech not mentioned elsewhere.

(44) Quoting *Daily Post*, November 16. Contents of speech omitted elsewhere.

(45) *Proceedings*, pp. 7-9, lists one hundred and seven of which eleven are marked as having been received subsequent to the committee's first report. Four papers of November 16, *Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund* and *Times*, put the number at ninety. This suggests quadruple use of one reporter's notes. The *Daily Post*, November 16, says, "In all thirty one delegates were present," manifestly an error.

(46) *Proceedings*, pp. 7-9. The *Telegraph*, November 16, lists thirty four who intended to come. Of these seven did not come, the last name only of four is given and the names of four are misspelled. Obviously in the absence of the minutes this would be a defective record. Other papers only give scattered names.

(47) *Proceedings*, page 7. *Commercial Gazette*. November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. This device is not mentioned in the other papers. The *Daily Post* mentions a ticket given entitling the holder to reduced hotel rates.

at 215,634. (48) Later arrivals (which we know increased the number of delegates to only 107) it was estimated would increase the number of workingmen represented in the convention to almost half million. (49) A special report of the Committee on Credentials on a case of double representation and two motions adding two additional members, one without credentials and the other a substitute mentioned in the *Proceedings* (50) are not discussed in the newspapers.

"On motion, a Committee on Permanent Organizations was appointed, consisting of one delegate from each of the states represented." (51)

"A resolution was offered and adopted fixing the hours of the sessions of the Congress from 8:00 o'clock a. m. to 12:00 m. and from 1:00 p. m. to 5:00 p. m." (52)

"A motion was offered and adopted that each State delegate select a representative to serve on the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles." (53)

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(48) *Telegraph*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. Again this may be quadruple use of one reporter's estimate. The *Times*, November 16, puts number represented as "about 225,000". No estimate, strange to say. is given in the *Proceedings*, page 7.

(49) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16; *Times*, November 16. Cf. *Telegraph*, November 16, "Additional delegates have since arrived." No estimates here in *Daily Post*.

(50) Pages 9-10.

(51) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10, which gives the names. The appointment of this committee at this time is mentioned in all six papers but none of them give the names. The language of the *Telegraph* and *Commercial Gazette* is identical at this point.

(52) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Resolution mentioned without hours fixed, *Telegraph*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. Omitted in *Times*, November 16.

(53) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10. *The Evening Chronicle*, November 16, omits this. The *Telegraph*, November 16, says, "A committee consisting of one delegate from each State represented was appointed to prepare a declaration of principles." The *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, uses the same language. The *Freiheit Freund*, November 16, is in accordance with the *Proceedings*. The *Daily Post*, November 16,

J. S. Shuttuck, of Beaver Falls, Penna., then offered the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the united labor organizations of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia have, by unanimous resolutions, denounced the proprietors of the Pittsburgh *Evening* and *Sunday Leader*, *Daily Post* and *Times*, for their unjust and unwarranted action in discharging from their employment competent and faithful Union printers, and employing in their stead imported "Rats", therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention of representatives of organized labor of this country, recognizing the importance of keeping the public press square on the labor question, do hereby ratify the action of the organizations referred to, and in order that the determined opposition by said journals may be further condemned, the representatives of the above Pittsburgh papers, viz., the *Leader*, *Post* and *Times*, be debarred from seats upon the platform with the representatives of honorable and fair journals." (54)

A "short but spirited address" by Mr. Shuttuck sustaining the resolution, support of the resolution by R. E. Weber, and a defense of the course pursued by the Printers by Alex C. Rankin mentioned in the *Proceedings*, (55) are not referred to by any of the newspapers. Adjournment follow-

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says, "A committee to prepare a declaration of principles was appointed. The Committee consists of one member from every State represented." The *Times*, November 16, merely says, "a committee to prepare a declaration of principles of the Congress" was appointed.

(54) Quoting resolution, *Proceedings*, page 10. The *Evening Chronicle*, *Telegraph* and *Commercial Gazette*, all of November 16, contain identical language, "presented a resolution endorsing the action of the local trade organizations in reference to the daily papers of the city which do not employ union printers and prohibiting any representative of those papers from attending the meeting of the Congress". The *Freiheits Freund*, November 16, mentions the three papers. The *Daily Post*. November 16, summarizes the resolution omitting names of papers mentioned. The *Times*, one of the papers mentioned. summarizes the resolution, ending in the language, "prohibiting the presence at the Congress of any representative of a paper not controlled by the Knights of Labor".

(55) Page 10.

ed these addresses. (56)

An informal evening meeting, not mentioned in the *Proceedings*, was held on November 15, the first day. (57) Its purpose was "an interchange of ideas on the various problems concerning labor." (58)

President Cline, of the Window Glass Workers Association, was made Chairman. (59) Mr. John Flanagan, iron moulder (60) of Pittsburgh, was the first speaker. (61) He discussed the subject of "Convict Contract Labor". (62) "He spoke forcibly of the injustice of the services of criminals being sold to contractors at prices which enabled them to undersell manufacturers of all classes who employ free labor. The extent of the evil was shown by statistics, and the Congress earnestly exhorted to give the subject their closest attention." (63)

Mr. T. W. Taylor, of Homestead, Penna., who had "acquired a wide reputation as an advocate of principles calculated to advance the best interests of the workingmen" and who was familiarly known as "Old Beeswax" was the

(56) *Ibid*, page 10; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Times*, November 16; other papers omit adjournment.

(57) Mentioned in all six papers of date November 16. The best accounts are found in the *Commercial Gazette* and *Freiheits Freund*.

(58) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. similar statements, *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. The remaining three papers make no statement as to the purpose of the evening session.

(59) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Col. Isaac Cline." The *Telegraph*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post* merely say "President Cline". The entire comment on the session by the *Times* is, "The evening session was devoted to speeches by the delegates."

(60) So only in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16.

(61) So in remaining five papers, excluding *Times*.

(62) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. "Convict Labor" is the terminology used by the *Telegraph*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Freiheits Freund*, and *Daily Post*.

(63) Virtually identical language appears in the *Evening Chronicle*, *Commercial Gazette* and *Freiheits Freund*, which may be a case of good reporting, but appears to be one reporter's notes used in triplicate. Comment on the speech is omitted in the *Telegraph* and *Times*.

next speaker. (64) "He contended that if workingmen did not enjoy the rights belonging to them they had no person to blame but themselves as they were not united as a whole, and in their divided efforts to ameliorate their condition, had contented themselves with feebly attempting to lop off a few branches of the forest, which stood in their way, instead of striking at the root of the evil and pulling it up. As workingmen they did not take sufficient interest in politics, and thereby showed that they did not respect their own power. He did not advocate the principles of any party, but predicted that as long as workingmen voted for men, whose sympathies were not with them, they could never expect to advance. Another of the follies of workingmen was intemperance, and as long as they continue to spend $7,000,000 annually for drink, all their efforts at reform would prove futile. In his opinion, the most effective means of bettering their condition was co-operation. Until workingmen joined together in co-operative societies and established mills and manufacturies there would continue to be a conflict between capital and labor. It was by this means alone that their interests would become identical. He spoke at length on this subject, reciting the success of co-operation in England, and backed up his assertions with numerous instances. In conclusion, he urged the delegates and visitors to consider what he had said, and in the future take an active interest in politics, avoid intemperance and establish co-operative societies as rapidly as possible." (65)

Chairman Cline finally "made a few remarks" (66) and the meeting adjourned.

The Congress met for its morning session of November

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(64) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 16. Cf. *Evening Chronicle*, *Telegraph*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post*, all of date November 16.

(65) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 16. Same detail is in *Freiheits Freund*, November 16. The speech is correctly summarized in the *Evening Chronicle* and *Daily Post*. The *Telegraph* has neither summary nor comment.

(66) Identical language in *Telegraph*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post*, all of date November 16, another possible case of reportorial copying of one man's statement or notes.

16, at 9:00 o'clock (67) in Turner Hall, with Mr. John Jarrett in the chair. (68) "After several minor corrections the minutes were approved." (69) The next item of the session was a speech by Mr. Gompers, the delegate from the International Cigar-Makers Union. (70) Several papers had heralded Mr. Gompers as socialistic, and had accused him of desiring to secure the presidency and control of the organization for the socialists, (71) a matter which in reading smacks of a Pittsburgh ruse to defeat him for the presidency and capture the office for Jarrett. (72)

The *Proceedings*, p. 10, say, "Mr. Gompers requested the floor, to make a personal explanation, and asked that the following extract from the Pittsburgh *Commercial*

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(67) *Telegraph*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* says, "at eight o'clock." *Proceedings*, page 10, says, "Adjourned to meet at eight o'clock next morning". Time of assembly omitted in *Daily Post*.

(68) *Proceedings*, page 10; *Evening Chronicle; Daily Post*, November 17. The matter of Jarrett as chairman is omitted elsewhere.

(69) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. This item is omitted in other papers. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 10.

(70) *Proceedings*, page 10; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph* and the *Freiheits Freund* omit this item, while the *Commercial Gazette* gets it out of order.

(71) *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. The *Commercial Gazette* in referring to Mr. M. Gompers as a candidate for permanent chairman remarks, "The latter is the leader of the Socialistic element which is pretty well represented in the Congress, and one of the smartest men present." The *Daily Post* remarks, "The Socialists are pretty well represented and effort will probably be made to elect one of their leaders" . . . and mentions as candidate, "Mr. Gompers who represents the Socialistic element." Cf. also *Evening Chronicle*, November 15 for remarks on the socialistic representation.

(72) I wrote Mr. Gompers on August 23, 1922, asking him about the validity of my observation in regard to the Socialistic propaganda against him. He wisely avoided a direct answer. His reply, October 19, 1922, was, "As to your deduction regarding the election of Mr. Jarrett. permit me to say that my name was put in nomination but I withdrew because I wanted unity of decision in the election and did not want any contention to arise over the election of the first president of the organization, the formation of which was the subject of the gathering."

Gazette be read:"

The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. Gompers . . . called attention to some remarks in a morning paper, in which he was accused of being a leader of Socialists. This he indignantly denied, saying that he was working only in the Congress for the federation of labor. He felt that the remarks of the paper in question were intended to injure him and warp his efforts." The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, remarks, "Mr. Gompers took occasion to deny the statement that he was a leader of the Socialistic element, and that the committee has been captured for him saying that he had attended the Congress only for the purpose of assisting in the federation of labor organizations." The *Times*, November 17, sarcastically remarks, "Mr. Gompers of New York raised a fuss because one of the morning papers had called him a Socialist. Of course he denied it".

"Mr. M. F. Walsh of Wisconsin, rising to a personal explanation, said that the western delegates had been accused of instigating the publication of the slander referred to, but disclaimed their having any connection with it; their first knowledge of it being that morning, on seeing the newspaper referred to." (73)

"Mr. James Lynch of New York stated that now, as the coming report of the Committee on Permanent Organization had leaked out, he was desirous of placing Mr. Gompers square before the Congress. As a member of that Committee, he had urged the selection of Mr. Gompers as Permanent President without the knowledge or consent of that gentleman and paid a high tribute to his ability and strict unionism." (74)

"The credentials of several delegates were presented and approved." (75)

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(73) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10. This item is omitted in all the papers consulted.

(74) Quoting *Proceedings*, pp. 10-11. This item is omitted in all the papers consulted.

(75) Quoting *Telegraph*, November 16. The *Evening Chronicle* November 16, lists eight names. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, lists eight names. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, omits the approval. The *Freiheits Freund* parallels the *Telegraph* statement. The *Daily Post* and *Times*

Mr. Robert Howard of the Committee on Permanent Organization next submitted the following report: "To the temporary officers and delegates of the International Trades Union Congress: Gentlemen—In accordance with the duty imposed on us, your Committee on Permanent Organization met last night. After due deliberation, your Committee agreed to recommend that the permanent officers of the Congress shall consist of a President, Secretary and Assistant Secretary. The delegates recommended for these offices by your Committee are as follows: For President, Samuel Gompers of New York—representing the Cigar-Makers International Union. For Secretary, William Wilson of St. Louis—Typographical Union No. 6. For Assistant Secretary, H. H. Bengough of Local Assembly No. 1630. (76)

"Mr. Street of the Committee, submitted the following minority report: For President, Richard Powers of the Lake Seamen's Union, Chicago. First Vice-President, Robert Howard of the Spinner's Union, Fall River, Mass. Second Vice-President, William Wilson of the Printers Union, St. Louis, Mo. Secretary, R. E. Weber of the Printers Assembly No. 1630; First Assistant Secretary, Robert Burns of Buffalo, N. Y.; Second Assistant Secretary, W. C. Pollner of the Cleveland Trade Assembly." (77)

The majority report was clearly an eastern report and the minority report a western report. This division gave the local representation an opportunity for which they ap-

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omit the matter entirely. There is no mention of this item in *Proceedings*, page 11.

(76) *Proceedings*, page 11, quoted. The accounts here in the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; are identical and in the language of the *Proceedings*. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, summarizes the report accurately. The *Daily Post*, November 17, and the *Times*, November 17, merely give the latter part of the report naming the delegates recommended.

(77) *Proceedings*, page 11; *Telegraph*, November 16, quoted; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16: *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. All six papers are at odds with the *Proceedings* on two names. Where the papers say "Street" the *Proceedings* say "Streat". Where the papers say "Robert Burns" the *Proceedings*, page 11, say "Michael J. Byrne." In addition the *Times*, November 17, says, "Gumpers" for "Gompers."

parently had gotten ready and of which they took immediate advantage. Mr. James Maloy (78) of Pittsburgh said at once, "With all deference to the reports of the committee, I think that we should have a representation of the Amalgamated Association on the ticket." (79) Mr. Powers of Chicago replied, "Our work here is in the interest of the grand cause of labor, and we should not consider what organizations our officers belong to as long as they command the respect of all." (80) Mr. A. C. Rankin added, "That is the view to take; the Pittsburgh delegates have not presented the name of any candidate for President, although I can say we have just as good men as can be found anywhere, and we are just as strong in our labor organizations." (81)

"One of the delegates then nominated Mr. John Jarrett for Permanent Chairman." (82)

Mr. Weber of Pittsburgh then remarked, "I had the honor to represent Pennsylvania on the Committee on Permanent Organization, and most warmly urged the name of Mr. Jarrett for President, but the majority of the Committee decided otherwise. Let us consider this matter carefully and select with our best judgment." (83) Mr. Walsh of Wisconsin followed with the remarks, "In selecting our President, I desire to place before the delegates the name of Richard Powers as a representative of the West. The workingmen of Pennsylvania have a magnificent organization, but we should all remember that there are thousands of

(78) *Proceedings*, page 11; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "Mr. Maloy." Other papers omit the detail. *Proceedings*, page 11. says Maloy nominated Jarrett, an item omitted in all the six papers.

(79) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17.

(80) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Times*, November 17; omitted elsewhere.

(81) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Daily Post*, November 17. Any reference to Rankin's remarks is omitted elsewhere.

(82) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17.

(83) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Daily Post*, November 17. No reference elsewhere, even in the *Proceedings*, page 11.

workingmen in the West who require to be organized, and Richard Powers is the man to do the work." (84)

Quoting the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, "For a long time it looked as if the chairmanship would be hotly contested, but Mr. Gompers poured oil on the troubled waters by stating that he was thoroughly devoted to trade unionism, and in order to facilitate the work of completing the organization, would withdraw his name. Mr. Powers gracefully followed suit." (85)

"On motion the reports of the Committee were both tabled." (86) Mr. Jarrett was then unanimously elected President. (87) Messrs. Powers and Gompers were unanimously elected Vice-Presidents. (88) The "temporary secretaries, Messrs. Crawford of Chicago, Bengough of Pittsburgh, and Pollner of Cleveland were retained." (89)

The election of Mr. Jarrett indicated the control of the Congress by the conservatives and his elevation to the presidency appears to have silenced newspaper statements of the socialistic danger which existed in the convention and might by some device secure control of the organization.

"The resolution creating the Committee on Resolutions

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(84) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, merely says, "Mr. Walsh of Wisconsin named Richard Powers, a Western man for the position." The *Times*, November 17, says, "Mr. Welsh." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, omits any reference.

(85) *Proceedings*, page 11, fails to indicate the sequence of the withdrawal. The *Telegraph*, November 16, omitting the withdrawal by Mr. Gompers of his name curiously gives that of Mr. Powers. So does the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Evening Chronicle* gives the speeches in sequence. The *Daily Post*, November 17, omits the speeches, but gives as does the *Times*, November 17, the withdrawals in sequence.

(86) *Proceedings*, page 11; *Telegraph*, November 16, quoted; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. This item is omitted elsewhere. The *Proceedings*, page 11, notes further that even after the tabling of the motion Mr. Gompers was re-nominated by Mr. Lynch of New York, a strange fact omitted everywhere else.

(87) So *Proceedings*, page 11, and all six papers.

(88) So *Proceedings*, page 11, and all six papers and in order named.

(89) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11. The remaining five papers mention the fact but omit the names.

and Platform of Principles was, on motion, reconsidered. After striking out the words, 'Resolutions and', the original resolution was adopted." (90)

"The committee called for by the said resolution was then chosen, one member from each state." (91) The names given in the *Proceedings*, p. 11, are found in all the papers except the *Commercial Gazette* and *Times*, though with some errors such as the name of the Massachusetts representative, Sherman Cummin, spelled Cummings in four papers; the name of Leo P. Dwyer of Illinois spelled Dwyre in four papers; George W. Osborn of Ohio called Josh. W. Osborn in four papers; and A. Madera of St. Louis called A. A. Madera in four papers; identical errors in four papers indicating that one reporter jotted down the names by sound as read and handed his notes to three fellow reporters.

At this point according to the minutes, (92) "A delegate announced, from the floor, that a reporter of the *Evening Leader* was present, taking notes. He retired from the hall at the request of the Chair." (93)

Next, "It was ordered that, on a call of the States, the delegates should, in turn, read any papers or resolutions they had prepared or been instructed to introduce, and that the same be referred, without debate, to the Committee on

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(90) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 11. This motion is omitted elsewhere. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, speaks of "the committee to prepare a declaration of principles." The remaining five papers have the form "Committee on Declaration of Principles and Resolutions."

(91) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 11. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; and *Times*, November 17, all say "appointed." The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, says, "the names were announced."

(92) *Proceedings*, page 11.

(93) *Ibid*, page 11. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Daily Post*, November 17, in identical language, say, "At this juncture the reporter of a non-union paper was ejected from the hall and two sergeants at arms appointed to keep out non-union people." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, gives full information. *The Telegraph*, November 16, says, "A reporter of a non-union evening paper was discovered in the the hall which created quite a stir. He was precipitately bounced." The two remaining papers omit all reference to the matter.

Platform of Principles." (94) This plan of calling the roll of States and permitting suggestions was followed the remainder of the day and proved an excellent device for getting at the wishes of the delegates and the labor organizations represented. According to the minutes, "many of the documents read were afterwards embodied in the Platform." (95) "On the states being called, delegates responded from New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania." (96) A considerable number of suggestions and several formal resolutions resulted from this device, though a complete account of these is impossible since nowhere in the seven records consulted can the names and order of all the speakers, all of the speeches or all of the resolutions be found. (97) Probably the same topics were touched upon by various speakers.

Convict labor was denounced. (98) So also was the truck system. (99) "Mr. Powers read a bill which he desired the Congress to petition the Congress of the United States to enact. Its objects were for the better regulation of the merchant marine service, both in internal waters and interoceanic commerce, and the protection of life and property on board vessels." (100)

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(94) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Only the *Times*, November 17, mentions the very important matter of reference to the committee. The roll call is mentioned, in identical language, in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Daily Post*, November 17, and also mentioned in the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, and the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, omitting all else take up the resolutions at once.

(95) *Proceedings*, page 12. All such are therefore omitted in the *Proceedings* at this point.

(96) *Proceedings*, page 12. The alphabetical order of states is not followed here nor in the appointment of several committees. Cf. *ibid.* page 7; page 11.

(97) Possibly the best chronological order is found in the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, which is more detailed than the remaining five papers. By adding information in the *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4, 12, I have tried to arrive at some sequence.

(98) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. A formal resolution on this came up again according to this paper, just before recess. This latter is mentioned in all the papers.

(99) Mentioned at this point only in the *Evening Chronicle*. Incorporated in Platform as article 7, *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4.

(100) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. This item is omitted elsewhere, and the matter was not included in the Platform.

"Mr. Burgman read a method of organization which had received the unanimous approval of the Representative Assembly of the Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast. It recommended the Unions of kindred occupations, in addition to maintaining their separate organizations, to amalgamate under heads, as follows: Iron Trade, Leather Trade, Clothing Trade, and Purveyors. Each amalgamated association to choose delegates to a National Council of Federated Trades, whose duties should be simply executive." (101)

Someone at this point evidently made a speech denouncing Chinese labor. (102)

This was probably followed by the suggestion or resolutions advocating the protection of trades unions by a law providing for their incorporation, (103) an idea which was later embodied in the first article of the platform of principles. (104)

"The following resolution was submitted and received with great applause:

Resolved, that this Congress demand the repeal of the law known as the Conspiracy Act, as far as it relates to labor organizations to regulate their own wages." (105)

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(101) *Proceedings*, page 12, quoted. The *Evening Chronicle* alone mentions this as the "banding together of the different trades." The industrial union idea here is significant. It is the syndicate idea of Sorel, but it was not incorporated in the Platform or Supplementary Resolutions, *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4.

(102) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. This was probably a part of Burgman's remarks, for after the report of the Committee on Platform of Principles which did not include this item he re-introduced it the fourth day and it was included in the Supplementary Resolutions. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 20 and page 4.

(103) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(104) *Proceedings*, page 3.

(105) Quoting language identical in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16 and *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, is identical with the exception that it says, "was received with considerable demonstration." The resolution in German translation is in the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* correctly paraphrases and summarizes the resolution incorporated in the Platform as Article 9; *Proceedings*, page 4.

"Mr. McBride of Pennsylvania offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, convict or prison labor, as applied to the Contract System in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other states, is detrimental to the product of honest mechanics, lowers the masses of the people in their honest efforts, and demoralizes the manufacturing interests of the country; (106)

Resolved, That it is hereby declared, the sense of this Congress assembled, that we demand the abolition of the evil system, and that we will not under any circumstances support any person or persons to legislative positions who will not offer their support and earnest efforts to the abolishment of the same.

Resolved, That we urge our people that articles made in prison under the contract are in competition with honest toil and we hereby protest against the purchase and sale of the same, and that we ask their co-operation and efforts, that by just legislation the evil may be crushed." (107)

"Mr. Exler read a paper condemning button-set rivets in boilers as unreliable, and the cause of so-called accidents." (108)

Delegate J. W. Crozier of Pennsylvania presented resolutions of sympathy with the people of Ireland in their

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(106) It is impossible to resist the temptation to note the similarity between this domestically and German reparations internationally.

(107) Quoting language which is identical in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17; (In German translation) *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, which, however, says "of Philadelphia," an error. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, says, "denouncing convict contract labor, demanding its abolition and pledging themselves not to support candidates for the Legislature who did not pledge themselves to attempt its abolishment." Basis of Article 6 in Platform, *Proceedings*, page 3.

(108) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Four newspapers, *Evening* Chronicle, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "Axtell" indicating quadruple use of one reporter's notes based on the sound of the name. All four put the resolution in the afternoon as do also the *Daily Post* and *Times*. At first it seemed the papers must be right about the time of the resolution, but since the *Daily Post* and *Times* had no reporters in the hall and a quadruplicate error exists in the name, it is reasonable to suppose all six reports are erroneous here.

efforts to free themselves from British oppression, and moved that the rules be suspended and the resolutions adopted." (109)

"The hour of adjournment having arrived while the above resolution was pending, (110) the Congress stood adjourned until 1:00 P. M. (111)

The Congress re-convened at 1:00 P. M., with President Jarrett in the chair. (112) "The reading of the minutes of the morning session was, on motion, dispensed with." (113) On the order of items which followed there is much doubt. With the exception that the *Telegraph*, November 16, before going to press stated an Irish resolution came first, a statement which was changed in the *Telegraph*, November 17, the order in all six papers is the same. (114)

According to the *Proceedings*, the next business was as follows: "The re-reading of the resolution with regard to Ireland was ordered." (115) Three papers in identical

(109) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. All the papers put this resolution in the afternoon. As we shall note later it was re-read in the afternoon.

(110) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. This item is omitted in all the papers. Facetiously, the sole reporter taking notes must have started to lunch early.

(111) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. The matter of the recess is, of course, referred to in all the papers.

(112) *Proceedings*. page 12; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Freiheits Freund*, November 17.

(113) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12, an item omitted in all six papers.

(114) In spite of the fact that one reporter may have been responsible for this, it may be that the newspapers are correct and the minutes wrong. The resolutions may have been handed in on separate sheets of paper and gotten out of order, for, after the final adjournment, "the secretary was directed to have the proceedings printed in pamphlet form, and Messrs. Bengough and Pollner, secretaries of the Congress, were employed to assist in completing the minutes for that purpose"; *Proceedings*, page 24.

(115) Page 12. Five papers, excluding the *Times*, with the exception above noted, put prior a motion that a committee of one delegate from each state be appointed on a plan of organization. The mover, Sherman Cummins, has his name spelled Cummings in the four papers which mention the mover, the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. Since the *Evening Chronicle* alone contains the account printed on November 16, one may credit this probably to the *Evening Chronicle* reporter.

phraseology describe this resolution as "announcing the sympathy of the workingmen for the oppressed people in Ireland, and enunciating the idea that land was common property." (116) Two papers (117) elaborate somewhat the idea as "the idea that the land in Ireland should be owned by the cultivators of the soil, and that no person should be allowed to own more land than he could till." (118) "A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion to suspend the rules." (119)

"Mr. Gompers of New York opposed immediate action on the resolution as he did not admit the land idea as expressed above to be correct, and he did not want to see the Congress commit itself to an idea of that kind." (120) "Several other members spoke in the same strain and the general drift seemed to be that the workingmen had enough to do at home without going abroad for subjects of discussion." (121) "It was finally agreed to refer the resolution to a special committee of five, appointed by the chair, as follows: Messrs. J. W. Crozier, George Dewey, Sherman Cummin, John Kumiar and W. G. McKean." (122) This was good policy. By not attacking "individual rights of

(116) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17.

(117) *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(118) Quoting *Telegraph*, November 17. Cf. *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(119) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. By this is meant opposition to immediate action on the resolution in accordance with the motion made earlier. This item is omitted in all the papers.

(120) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, has an exact translation of this. In fact the statement may be made that the *Freiheits Freund* frequently merely copies the account of the papers of the previous afternoon. The *Daily Post*, November 17, erroneously it would seem, says, "Mr. Gompers approved the expression of opinion in regard to common property. This may indicate that "opposed" in long hand was misread by the excluded *Daily Post* reporter as "approved."

(121) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, has an exact translation. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, and *Times*, November 17, have similar but not identical statements. Omitted elsewhere.

(122) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Cf. *Evening Chronicle*, November 16 (with names); *Telegraph*, November 17, (without names); *Commercial Gazette*, November 17 (without names); *Times*, November 17 (without names; *Freiheits Freund*, No-

private property", (123) they avoided criticism which might have been heavy. (124)

According to the *Proceedings*, (125) "The regular order being called, the reading of resolutions, by delegates from Pennsylvania, was continued." (126)

"Delegate Daniel Rogers of the Miners' Association introduced resolutions demanding the abolition of the truck system, reduction of the number of working hours, and the enforcement of all laws relating to miners. He asked that the Congress adopt them at once without referring, which was done." (127)

Mr. James Michels, next, it seems, introduced a resolution denouncing the wholesale importation of cheap foreign labor, a resolution which evidently was referred to the committee. (128)

Next probably, Mr. Eli Powell of Pittsburgh introduced

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vember 17 (without names); *Daily Post*, November 17 (with names). The omission of the first name of Kumiar in the *Evening Chronicle*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post* seems to prove that the two latter simply copied the report of the first.

(123) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 16.

(124) Cf. editorials, *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, 17, 18, 19.

(125) Page 12.

(126) According to the *Commercial Gazette*, the call of States was resumed before the Irish Resolution. The fact that J. W. Crozier of Pennsylvania introduced the resolution, falls in line with the statement just cited from the *Proceedings*.

(127) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, mentions the three items but says "Mr. John Rogers". It also omits the immediate adoption. The *Telegraph*, November 17, omits the truck system item and the immediate adoption. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, and *Freheits Freund*, November 17, agree identically with the *Telegraph*. The *Daily Post*, November 17, summarizes in the statement, "Resolutions in regard to mining laws." The *Times*, November 17, gives the substance of these resolutions in contiguity without name of mover.

Mr. Rodgers resolutions are probably found in the Platform as articles 5, 7, and Supplementary Resolutions 3 and 4. Cf. *Proceedings*, pp. 3, 4.

(128) Adopted as article 11 of the Platform, *Proceedings*, page 4. There is no discussion of the resolution on page 12. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. John Michaels". The *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "James Michaels". The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "Resolutions in regard to—importation of foreign labor." *Times*, November 17, puts this resolution later.

a resolution asking State Legislatures to enact laws requiring stationary engineers to be licensed. (129)

Mr. Gompers of New York next introduced a resolution asking "for the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics," (129a) a resolution which was referred to the Committee. (130)

Mr. Isaac Cline of Pittsburgh spoke next, probably, asking that the United States Congress be requested "to levy a tax on all labor imported for contract purposes." (131)

Mr. Daniel Rodgers (132) of Pittsburgh introduced the following resolution which was adopted at once:

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(129) The language of all the newspapers except the *Daily Post* in stating the content of the resolution is identical, but the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. Eli Power," the *Telegraph*, November 17, says "Mr. Powers" as does also the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, evidently following the *Evening Chronicle*, say "Eli Power." There is no mention of the matter in the *Proceedings*, page 12. The *Times* November 17, puts it immediately after the next resolution.

(129a) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 17, and the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, say "establishment of a bureau of statistics," omitting the word "labor." The *Daily Post*, November 17, says, "establishment of a bureau of labor statistics;" *Times* November 17. It should be considered in all footnotes after 108 that the printing of the *Telegraph* follows later than morning papers mentioned.

(130) Embodied in article 10 of the Platform, *Proceedings*, page 4, but not mentioned page 12.

(131) Quoting identical language in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Times* November 17. The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "tax on imported labor." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, "to lay a tax on the importation of wares which served contract designs." This whole resolution appears confused. The matter is not mentioned in the *Proceedings*, page 12, but the Platform contains two articles, 11 and 12, either of which may be referred back to Cline's resolutions. Article 11 is, "That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries." Article 12 is, "That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract."

The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "Isaac Cline."

(132) So in certified list, *Proceedings*, page 9, but spelled page 12,

"Whereas, This Congress learns with great sorrow of the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., of Great Britain, and realizes that a heavy loss has befallen the cause of Labor throughout the world by reason of his death; therefore

Resolved, That a letter of condolence be sent to the Miners' National Union of Great Britain signed by the officers of this Congress." (133)

At this point according to the *Proceedings*, (134) "A motion was adopted that the chair appoint a committee of five on Plan of Organization." "Messrs. Gompers, Brant, Howard, Somers, and James Lynch were appointed as such committee." (135)

"On motion, a Committee on Rules was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Powers, D. Rogers, and Betting." (136)

Messrs. Slicker and McClure (137) were appointed Sergeants-at-Arms, in compliance with a motion ordering the appointment of such officers. According to the *Proceedings*, (138) the Committee on Rules next made its report, (139) one not differing much from ordinary con-

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"Rogers." The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, omits his name. The *Telegraph*, November 17, says "Mr. David Rogers" as does the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, like the *Evening Chronicle*, omits the name. Item omitted elsewhere.

(133) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Resolution summarized in five papers. Omitted *Times* November 17. Macdonald's name spelled "McDonald" in all papers. Only the *Daily Post*, November 17, varies the statement in the least.

(134) Page 10. It has already been noted, ante p. 223, foot note 115, that five papers place a kindred motion as the first item of the afternoon's business.

(135) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Item omitted in all six papers.

(136) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Note Rodgers name is again misspelled. Item omitted in all papers.

(137) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Note that elsewhere, page 9, the latter's name is spelled McClure. Item omitted in all six papers.

(138) Page 12.

(139) This was quick work. Thirteen rules were formulated; *Proceedings*, pp. 12-13. The report of the Committee on Rules at this point in the afternoon is mentioned, *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* and *Freiheits Freund* use the same language. The *Daily Post* calls all this "further routine business." The *Times*, November 17, calls it "business

vention rules.

After the adoption of the rules, "Mr. Wilson of St. Louis called for the report of the transactions of Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the General Committee of the Terre Haute Convention, who failed to put in appearance at the present Congress." (140)

The Secretary read a long report which had been forwarded by Mr. Moore. (141) This report contains much interesting information. According to this report "prominent Trades Unionists throughout the country" *all* were in favor of the undertaking "of a Congress of Labor." Secretary Moore reported, "I have sent out over 2,000 copies of the call (three editions) putting the same before every union in the United States and Canada of which I could obtain any information."

Sixty-nine labor organizations contributed toward the expenses of the Secretary $147.00, an average of $2.52 each. One organization sent $15.00, another $14.00, and a third $10.00. None of the remaining sixty-six sent more than $5.00. Fifty-five sent $4.00 or less, fifty-three $3.00 or less, fifty $2,00 or less, and thirty-one $1.00, statistics which throw some light on the prosperity of labor unions at this period.

In some remarks at the end of his report the Secretary said, "Let the word go forth the world over that the American workingman is not a slave, and that *our* Labor Congress is the champion of right, justice and equality." He admonished, "Let your action be cool, deliberate, and not too over-reformatory. Grasp one idea, viz., less hours and better pay, and carry it into all your work as the first principle." Nine labor journals are specifically mentioned as having published the call. Any special labor newspaper "organ" at that time was discountenanced.

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of an uninteresting nature." Only the *Proceedings* give the rules. Elsewhere there is no reference even to content.

(140) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 13.

(141) *Ibid*, page 13. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, omits all reference to this. The *Telegraph*, November 17, says the report was read but consideration of its contents postponed until the following day. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, contains the information in the *Telegraph* as does the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Daily Post* styles this "further routine business." Nowhere in the papers is the content of the report given or discussed.

"The Committee on Resolutions were, after some discussion, authorized to have their report printed. During the discussion of the motion the character of the organization to be formed was alluded to. Mr. Jarrett was of the opinion that the work of this Congress could only be preliminary, as he, for one, could not act until he had obtained consent of his organization. Other delegates differ in opinion, but the majority thought with Mr. Jarrett, that the only thing to be done was to agree upon a plan or organization, make a declaration of principles, and submit the same to the various trades. Then if it were deemed advisable, a permanent federation of trades could be formed." (142)

"Mr. Weber of Pittsburgh announced that it would be impossible to obtain Turner Hall for the remaining sessions of the Congress, as it had been previously secured by other parties. The Local Committee had secured Schiller Hall for all further sessions." (143)

"The Congress then adjourned, the hour fixed by rule having arrived." (144)

"There was no evening session because it was desired that the various committees should get through their work so that they could report to the Congress this morning." (145)

Newspaper comment on the convention at this point is worth noting. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, summed up matters as follows: "The principal business to be considered is the report of the committee to which was

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(142) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The account in the *Telegraph* summarizes the item. It is omitted in *Proceedings*, page 15; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 17; and *Times*, November 17.

(143) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 15. The use of Schiller Hall is mentioned in *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; and *Daily Post*, November 17. which adds "at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Liberty Street." The reason for the change is omitted in all six papers.

(144) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 15. Adjournment at this point is noted in all the papers.

(145) Quoting *Daily Post*, November 17. Item not found elsewhere.

referred the Irish resolution; the plan of organization, and the declaration of principles. The discussion of the first and last subjects will likely be animated, and the reference to the rights of land owners will be expunged if the resolution is adopted as the majority of the delegates, while sympathizing with the Irish people, do not think it comes within their province to dictate how many acres of land shall be owned by any person. Unless some new questions are sprung upon the Congress it will likely finish its work today." (146) In an editorial on the same day, this paper surveys the general situation. It remarks, among other things, "Their organization is not political. . . .Such an organization is susceptible of accomplishing much good, but the danger is that it will be used by ambitious demagogues or designing agitators to further their own personal ends." "It is to be hoped that all those baneful influences which strike at good order, social stability and the rights of property will be promptly frowned down." . . ."There is much to be accomplished within the bounds of practicability.". . . "The public will watch the proceedings of the Congress with no small degree of interest, as under wholesome direction it can be made a powerful agency for good."

A long editorial in the *Telegraph*, November 17, is worthy of full quotation. It says, "From the list of resolutions already presented at the International Labor Congress, in session in this city, it is clear that the subjects to be considered are neither few nor unimportant. The Chinese cheap labor problem, the prison contract system, store order payments, which in some respects may be considered as sectional, find place with questions of broader scope, as the reform of laws concerning conspiracy and trade organizations, the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics, etc. In several forms resolutions have been presented having in view the protection of American industry from unworthy foreign competition, and if practical measures can be agreed upon by these eminently practical men to secure that much desired result it must have an important effect in moulding future legislation to conform to their views." After reciting resolutions already referred to, the *Telegraph* continues, "The members of this Congress are

(146) The statement in the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, is identical indicating dual use of one reporter's notes.

nearly all known to be men who have devoted years to the study of industrial reforms and in the agitation of practical measures for the elevation of industrial classes upon various theories, and their meeting, which is thus far conducted in the most deliberate and orderly manner, can not well fail to produce much good fruit."

While excluded from the hall of the convention the reporter of the *Daily Post* did able work on the evening of November 16. The information in the *Daily Post*, November 17, on the affairs of this evening, amounts to a small "Scoop." The information is significant and will be cited in full.

"The Committee on Platform assembled in the afternoon at the rooms of the Amalgamated Association and discussed the matters which were to come within its scope. In the evening the same subject was further discussed at the St. Clair Hotel, and Mr. Leffingwell took charge of the drawing up of the formal enunciation of the principles of the Congress. The promulgation will contain the following, which was obtained from the committee last night." (147)

"The Committee on Permanent Organization of the Congress with a view to perpetuating its existence and having it assemble annually, also met last night at the St. Clair Hotel. The idea is to make the Congress a body similar to the English Trades Congress, which has potent influence in national affairs in that country. It does not affiliate with either political party and does not go into details affecting any particular trade. Its object is to watch carefully all public measures which have a bearing on labor generally, assist such measures as may be beneficial to labor and show to workmen the evils which will arise from other measures not tending to aid their cause."

ALFRED P. JAMES.

(Continued in January Issue)

(147) The reporter got only eleven out of the seventeen items in the Platform and Supplementary Resolutions and these not in the sequence found in *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4. If it was guess work, at least he included nothing not found. Since every item mentioned is so found, omission is possible here. It is apparent that the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, got the same information as the *Daily Post* for it contains the same items, enumerated. It omits, however, reference to the evening meetings.

ETHNIC ELEMENTS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA AND THE POPULATION OF TO-DAY.

No state of the American Union has a more interesting and more progressive history than Pennsylvania. Its favorable geographical situation, its valuable natural resources, its ideals of religion and government, its varied racial elements have all contributed to the state's greatness.

The ethnic groups that left their mark upon the state's early history are four in number: the Quakers who first settled in and about the city of Philadelphia; the Germans at Germantown at first, but later scattering over the lower Susquehanna Valley; the Scotch-Irish, best remembered because of their pioneer work in settlements west of the Alleghenies; and the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley. Other groups were the Welsh, a small but very influential group in the early settlement, Dutch, Swedes, and Irish.

Geiser divides the immigration history of Pennsylvania colony into the following periods:

1862-1708, Welsh, English, Dutch, Germans. Of these the Welsh were the largest and most influential class.

1708-1728, Germans from the Palatinate, mostly of the lower class.

1728-1804, Germans from the middle and upper classes.

1725 and years following, the Scotch-Irish. (1)

The general trend of the settlement of the state is rather definitely marked in the organization of the sixty-seven counties which now comprise the state. The counties organized originally in 1682 are Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks. From Philadelphia sprang Montgomery, Berks, and Schuylkill, the first two being of large Pennsylvania Dutch population. Bucks became the mother of a line of counties in the Delaware Valley, and Chester gave off Lancaster, from which in turn were organized the counties in the Susquehanna and Cumberland Valleys. In these two general directions the Quakers and the Germans pushed their settlements. In the early settlements the various ethnic groups intermingled little and thus the types remained distinctive. But the migrations across the mountains produced a change.

The frontier settlers, mostly Scotch-Irish and Germans, spread rapidly over the rich and fertile valleys of the Susquehanna and down into Virginia. "The consequence was that while the tidewater regions of the colonies kept each distinctive character, born of distinct old-world sources and diverse environments, the backwoods population of the Mountains from the Wyoming Valley to the Yadkin showed a wide mingling of ethnic elements—Dutch, German, Huguenot French, Scotch-Irish and English—which obliterated the distinctive types of the coast, while the prevailing similarity of their geographic environment operated to produce the new type of the backwoods." (2)

The second great population movement as noted by the organization of counties is that west of the Alleghenies, beginning with Westmoreland organized in 1773. From it sprang all of the counties of western Pennsylvania. Semple has traced the three routes over which the migration took place: viz, first over the west branch of the Susquehanna and via Toby Creek to the Allegheny River at Kittanning; second, up the Juniata River or via Carlisle, Shippensburg, Bedford, Fort Ligonier to Pittsburgh; third up the Potomac River, across the divide via Cumberland, down the Youghiogeny River to Pittsburgh. (3)

The third group of counties are those which originated from the Connecticut settlements in the Wyoming Valley, beginning with Luzerne County in 1786. This group includes all the counties of the north central part of the state, twenty-one in number. As the trail of the Scotch-Irish into western Pennsylvania was marked by the churches which they started, so the region settled by the people from Connecticut were filled with school-houses which they built.

As to the proportion of the various elements in the colonial population estimates only are available. The Germans and Scotch-Irish predominated, forming approximately two-thirds of the entire population. The Census of 1790 reported a population of 433,611, of whom 423,373 were white and 10,238 colored. (4) Of the white population at least 110,000 were Germans and 100,000 Scotch-Irish. Estimates of 1750 gave the state a population of 230,000, of whom one-half were German, (5) Governor Thomas,

in a letter dated 1747, says that the Germans constituted three-fifths of the population. (6) This estimate is doubtless too high and is probably due to a fear prevalent at that time that the Germans would overrun the colony.

While the Quaker, German and Scotch-Irish elements predominated in colonial Pennsylvania, it must not be forgotten that the state had its beginning with settlements by the Dutch and Swedes. As early as 1623 the Dutch came to the banks of the Delaware, followed fifteen years later by Swedes, until by the time Penn came to claim his grant he found settlements containing 2,000 persons, mostly Dutch and Swedes but including also some English, Welsh, and Swiss. They gave the colony an early impetus toward progress, although, as Fisher points out, their peculiar laws and customs soon became obsolete, their descendants were absorbed in the rest of the population, and no institution in the state can be traced to their influence. (7)

During the first few years of Pennsylvania, as stated above, the Welsh were an influential class. Most of them were Quakers. Settled on their forty-thousand acre tract, just outside the city of Philadelphia, and known as the Welsh Barony, they struggled stubbornly to maintain their national customs and habits. For a few years they succeeded, but when they refused to pay Penn quit-rents on the land they occupied, the tract was opened to other immigrants and the unity of the Welshmen was broken. Their migration soon ceased and by 1700 their influence was of little importance.

The controlling force in the colony's governmental affairs for a hundred years, according to Fisher, were the Quakers. The men who founded Pennsylvania, like those who founded most of the other colonies, were intensely religious,—and religion was the determining force in all civic and social affairs. Religious liberty was the law of the land in Pennsylvania at a time when in Massachusetts and several other colonies there were statutes punishing heresy with death. Prison reform, hospitals, and charitable institutions were flourishing in Pennsylvania long before they were regarded as desirable in the other colonies. (8)

The open-door policy of Penn was a welcome haven of refuge to both the Germans in the oppressed Palatinate and

the Scotch-Irish of Ulster, and a striking contrast to the intolerance of Puritan New England. The first to respond to Penn's invitations were the Germans. The order of their immigration was first the sects, Mennonites, Tunkers, Schwenkfelders, and others; then the Reformed and Lutheran church members, that is after 1725. The first had among them some well-educated men, but as a whole they were of a ruder type than the other colonists. They wore wooden shoes, rougher clothes, carried weapons, a simple rural peasantry decidedly in contrast with the English yeoman and Scotch-Irish weavers and mechanics. (9) But the church people were of a higher type. They belonged mostly to the middle and upper classes. They readily abandoned their peculiarities of language and customs, except their religious beliefs. As time went on they proved themselves a thrifty and contented people, as attested to-day in the many fine farms of the Pennsylvania Dutch counties, Lancaster and Lebanon.

Writing in 1796 from York, Pa., Weld notes that the Germans settle down and rarely rove about. He says, "The American, on the contrary is of a roving disposition, and wholly regardless of the ties of consanguinity he takes his wife with him, goes to a different part of the country and buries himself in the woods, hundreds of miles distant from the rest of the family, never perhaps to see them again." (10) Low says of the Germans, "Then as now these German settlers were distinguished by their industry, sobriety, love of order, thrift; and next to the Puritans the Germans have contributed more to the making of the American character than any other race or strain." (11)

The large influx of the Germans during the first part of the eighteenth century aroused the suspicions and the fears of the native Americans. Until 1731 the state legislature controlled by the Quakers succeeded in depriving the Germans of the right of suffrage. But in that year the residents of Montgomery County petitioned the Assembly "to be permitted to enjoy the rights and privileges of English subjects." (12) According to Geiser more than half of the population of Montgomery County was German. In 1734 the total number of landlorders was 760, of whom

395 were German. Franklin in a letter dated May 9, 1753 said, "They import many books from Germany and of the six printing houses in the province two are entirely German, two are half German and half English, and but two are entirely English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages and some places only in German. They begin of late to make their bonds and other legal documents in their own language... In short, unless the stream of importations can be turned from this to other colonies they will so outnumber us, that all the advantages we have, will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious." (13)

Other writers of that day warned against the immigrations of the Germans. (14) The center of conflict between the Scotch-Irish and the Germans was the Cumberland Valley. As in Adams County so in Cumberland County the first settlers were Scotch-Irish (15) Rupp in his history of the Cumberland Valley counties, written in 1846, says, "Within the last forty-five years those (the settlers) from Ireland and Scotland have been supplanted by Germans. The German language is now commonly spoken in many parts of the County." (16) On account of frequent disturbances between the Governor and the Irish settlers the proprietaries gave orders in 1750 to their agents to "sell no land in York or Lancaster to the Irish, and also to make advantageous offers to encourage the Irish settlers to move to Cumberland County, which afterwards became their chief place of settlement." (17)

In Lancaster and Lebanon Counties the German element has up to the present time been a powerful influence. Low records the suspension of the last surviving newspaper in Lancaster which had an existence of nearly one hundred and two years. He quotes the *New York Sun*, of March 11, 1910, as follows: "For more than one hundred years, Lancaster has had her German newspaper actively competing with the English. For a number of years the community ably supported a German daily. It is a significant fact that there are not now sufficient readers of German to support even a weekly. Pennsylvania Dutch is still spoken in the northern parts of Lancaster county, but comparatively few of the population can read German; and while they

may converse in the German dialect, they have been educated in the public schools and they read English newspapers. Journalism in English has now completely crowded out the German here." (18)

Next to the Quakers and the Germans a determining factor in the affairs of Colonial Pennsylvania were the Scotch-Irish. They brought with them the religious fervor of John Calvin and made Pennsylvania the foremost Presbyterian state of the Union. Between 1730 and 1770 five hundred thousand are said to have come to America. In 1770, according to Douglass, they formed a third of the population of the state. (19) And at the time of the Revolution they constituted a sixth of the population of all the colonies. (20)

In contrast to the Quakers, Fisher gives the following description of the Scotch-Irish; "The eagle and the dove, the lamb and the lion, suggest themselves at once as proper similes. But, curiously enough, in this instance the dove was in power, and all through the colonial period kept the eagle in control. The dove was not inclined to be at all tyrannical to her enemy, but at the same time her love of peace was very exasperating to the men who were passionately fond of war." (21)

This picture is not entirely correct. The Scotch-Irish were, it is true, a frontier people. They seemed to glory in the hardship of the forests, for the independence of thought and action the hardships secured for them. It gave them opportunity to build churches and schools where they might promote their religion unhampered and unhindered by association with other creeds. Scores of strong Presbyterian churches and many colleges and schools of western Pennsylvania of to-day bear testimony to the domineering pioneer spirit of the Scotch-Irish immigrants who broke through the settled regions of eastern Pennsylvania, blazed the trails across the Alleghenies and carried civilization by means of the church and the church school into the back country.

Fisher summarizes the relative locations of the leading ethnic groups in colonial Pennsylvania. "The Scotch-Irish got as far away from the others as possible. The Connect-

icut people, in the fastness of their valley, held aloof from all association and intercourse with the rest of the province. The Germans congregated by themselves in the fertile valleys of the Schuylkill and the Lehigh, and the Welsh were at first isolated on their barony. Only two elements were brought in close contact,—the Quakers and the Episcopalians who occupied Philadelphia; and the bitterness of their quarrels shows what might have been the result if there had been less room for the others." (22)

The Present-Day Population.

The population of the state in 1920 was 8,720,017. The white population constituted 96.7 per cent, the black 3.3 per cent, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and all others less than one-tenth of 1 per cent. 80.8 per cent of the total population are native whites, 15.9 per cent are foreign-born whites. Eighteen counties of the state have a foreign-born population of from 15 to 25 per cent; 10 have from 10 to 15 per cent; twenty-one have from 5 to 10 per cent; eighteen have less than 5 per cent. Of the native white population 54.5 per cent is of native parentage, 6.5 per cent is mixed. Thus approximately three-eighths of the present population is not more than one generation removed from the Old World.

A comparison of the census figures of 1910 and 1920 shows the following changes; total population shows an increase of 13.8 per cent, native white population an increase of 16.8 per cent, foreign born white a decrease of 3.5 per cent. The negro population increased from 193,919 in 1910 to 284,568 in 1920, an increase of 46.7 per cent.

The drift to the cities that has been occurring all over the country during the past twenty years has likewise been going on in Pennsylvania. But the drift has been greater among the native population than among the foreign-born. The ratio of urban (towns of more than 2,500) to rural was in 1920, urban 64.3 per cent, rural 35.7 per cent; in 1910, urban 60.4 per cent, rural 39.6 per cent. In 1900, the urban was 54.7 per cent and the rural 45.3 per cent.

The following table shows that the foreign-born farm owners have actually increased; the increase in spite of the fact that the incoming of foreigners had decreased:

	1910	1920
All farmers	219,295	202,250
Native	204,917	187,277
Foreign-born	14,378	14,973

Following these general statistics of the state's population let us consider the racial elements found in the foreign population. The total number of foreigners in the state are 1,387,850. The five leading nationalities are: Italy 222,764, Poland 177,770, Russia 161,124, Austria 122,755, Ireland 121,601. Next in order are Germany, England, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and Scotland. Wales, Sweden, Denmark, the Scandinavian countries, and Canada are all represented, but none of them by more than 2 per cent of the entire foreign population. Consequently, their influence is negligible, and the only countries whose ethnic influence need be considered are the first five, which in 1920 had furnished more than half of the foreign-born population.

In 1910 of the total foreign population the distribution according to country of birth was as follows: Austria 17.5 per cent, Germany 13.6 per cent, Italy 13.6 per cent, Russia 16.7 per cent and Ireland 11.5 per cent. These five nations thus furnished 72.9 per cent of the state's foreign born population. By 1920 a change in these nationalities had taken place. Among the 1,387,850 foreign born persons then in the state, Italy led furnishing 16.1 per cent, Poland was second with 12.8 per cent, next Russia 11.6 per cent, Austria (first in 1910) 8.8 per cent, Ireland 8.8 per cent, Germany 8.7 per cent, England 6.5 per cent, Hungary 5.1, total 78.4 per cent. Among the remaining 21.6 per cent practically all countries of Europe are represented.

To see the locations of the many races a study of the leading cities of the state will suffice. Philadelphia presents the following racial elements among her foreign born: Russia, 24.1 per cent, Ireland 16.2 per cent, Italy 16. per cent, Germany 10 per cent, Poland 7.8 per cent, England 7.8 per cent. Pittsburgh in the same year: Germany 13.3 per cent, Poland 12.9 per cent, Italy 12.8, Ireland 11.6 per cent, Russia 11.5 per cent, Austria 8.4 per cent, England 6.1 per cent. Of the total population of Philadelphia, 1,823,779, 397,927, or

more than 21 per cent is foreign born. Pittsburgh has a population of 588,343, of whom 120,266 are foreign-born—21 per cent. Two other cities of the state have more than one-fifth of their population foreign-born. They are Scranton and Wilkesbarre. Poles lead in Chester, Reading and Wilkesbarre and are second in Erie. Russians are first in Scranton and Harrisburg and second, a low second, in Lancaster. Italians lead in Altoona and are tied for first with the Russians in Scranton. They occupy second place in Harrisburg, Johnstown and Reading. Austrians stand first in Johnstown and second in Allentown and Bethlehem. In these two cities the Hungarians occupy first place. The Welsh are nearest to predominance in numbers among the foreign born in Wilkesbarre, where they hold second place. The Irish are no higher than third which is in Scranton, the English no higher than fourth, that is in Harrisburg.

To understand fully the change that took place in the racial elements of the state it is necessary to review the immigration history of the nation during the nineteenth century. They are summarized by Hall as follows: (23)

1841-1860, large Irish and German immigration due to hard times in Ireland and political agitation in Germany.

1841-1850, nearly half of immigration was Irish and one-fourth was German.

1851-1860, of total immigration into the United States, one-third was Irish and one-third was German.

But in the last quarter of the century a change in our immigration took place and what is called the New Immigration began. Before 1880 more than three-fourths of our immigration came from northern Europe and less than one-fourth from Eastern and southern Europe. By 1900 the situation was reversed. Only one-fifth of our foreign population came from the northern European countries and the other four-fifths from eastern and southern European countries. Between the years 1890 and 1900 immigrants from the Slavic countries increased 130 per cent, and from Italy 165 per cent, while the Scandinavian countries increased their quota only 14 per cent, Germany decreased hers 4 per cent, and the United Kingdom hers more than 10 per cent.

How did this change in our immigration effect the state of Pennsylvania? The demand for labor in the mines has brought to Pennsylvania an increasing number of Russians, Austrians, Italians, and Poles. Taking the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Illinois, we find in 1890 they contained fifty-four per cent of all the Russians in the country, and in 1900 71.8 per cent of them. Of the Italians in the country these same six states had in 1890 two-thirds of them, in 1900 three-fourths. Pennsylvania alone in 1890 had 17.1 per cent of all Poles, which percentage increased by 1900 to 19.9 per cent; Italians, 13.5 per cent in 1890 and 13.8 per cent in 1900; Russians 9.5 per cent in 1890 and 12. per cent in 1900.

With the New Immigration came also a larger Jewish population. It is estimated that to-day there are more than 250,000 Jews in the state. (24) In 1900 there were but 100,000. Russian Jews predominate.

In a consideration of the social, political and religious influences of the present ethnic elements of the state it is impossible to measure the processes of amalgamation and assimilation of the foreigner. Yet these are the unsolved questions that exist. Commons defines the term "amalgamation" as "that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock." Assimilation he defines as "that union of minds and wills which enables them to think and act together." The over-worked term, "Americanization" he defines in the words of Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." (25)

Jenks has summarized the forces that favor and those that oppose the process of Americanization. (26) Those favoring are:

1. Employment of immigrants in American industries.
2. Employment of immigrant women as servants in American households.
3. Residence to some extent of immigrants among natives and the association resulting therefrom.
4. Attendance of immigrant children in American public schools and the teaching of the English and American branches in the immigrant parochial schools.
5. The influence of immigrant priests and pastors in

bringing about permanency of residence thru the stimulation of property-owning and home-making.

The forces that oppose Americanization are:

1. Isolation from the natives of a large part of the immigration population.
2. Indifference and to some extent prejudice on the part of the natives towards immigrants.
3. Illiteracy of a large proportion of immigrants.
4. Ignorance, resulting from the peasant origin of nearly all of the southern European immigrants and their unpreparedness for so decided changes in environment.
5. The influence of immigrant churches and parochial schools in emphasizing and maintaining racial and denominational distinctions.
6. Inability to speak English.

In view of these forces that promote or retard the progress of the foreigner, it is of great importance to determine the percentage of aliens and of illiterates among our foreign born, particularly those over the age of twenty-one years. The totals for the state are 727,190 foreign born (above 21 years of age), of whom 302,437 are naturalized, 98,734 have their first papers, 30,520 are unknown, and 295,499 are known aliens. Practically all of these aliens are illiterates, the number of alien illiterates in the state being 248,796. An analysis of the illiteracy statistics shows that our largest group of illiterates is in the 30 to 40-age group. The total number of illiterates in the state over the age of 16 years are classified as follows: (27)

16	and under	20	5,632
20	„	„	30	79,604
30	„	„	40	128,405
40	„	„	50	94,053
50	„	over		1,185
Unknown				5
			Total	308,884

The nationality of the illiterates are, Italian 88,074, Polish 73,499, English 67,658, Slovak 50,206, and others in decreasing numbers. But the problem of the foreigner in our midst is localized. Let us turn therefore to a com-

parison of conditions as to the aliens and illiterates in three different sections of the state; viz, the Susquehanna Valley, the Anthracite counties, and the bituminous region of western Pennsylvania.

District	County	Total Pop. in Thous.	Per Cent F-Born White	No. over 21		Per Cent Illiterate 10 years and above Tot. Pop.
				F-Born White	Aliens	
I.	Lancaster	174	2.5	2,267	590	1.4
	York	145	1.4	1,080	257	1.6
	Cumberland	59	1.1	394	73	1.4
	Lebanon	63	4.2	1,404	825	2.5
	Dauphin	153	6.8	5,681	2,570	3.3
	Total	594	(aver.)3.2	10,826	4,315–39.7%	2.04
II.	Luzerne	391	22.5	46,392	16,541	9.5
	Schuylkill	218	15.9	19,972	7,717	7.9
	Lackawanna	286	22.6	33,436	12,337	8.6
	Northumberland	122	10.8	7,290	1,734	4.7
	Carbon	63	17.6	6,389	3,939	8.3
		1,080	17.9	113,479	41,258–36.3%	7.8
III.	Allegheny	1186	21.	132,389	50,747	4.8
	*Beaver	112	21.4	14,680	8,913	6.2
	Fayette	188	20.3	22,326	13,841	8.2
	Westmoreland	274	20.7	32,112	16,889	7.6
	Washington	189	22.	23,155	12,025	7.3
		1949	21.2	224,662	102.415–45.5%	6.8

(* Not coal mining.)

It will be noted in this table that while District No. III has the largest percentage of foreign-born and also the highest percentage of aliens among the foreign born, the district that has the highest percentage of illiteracy is District No. II. The county that leads the state in foreign-born population is Lackawanna with 22.6 per cent. The county that ranks first in illiteracy is Luzerne with 9.5 per cent. It is also interesting to note where District I stands as compared to the other two. For instance, District III has nearly seven times the foreign-born percentage as District I, yet the percentage of aliens in the latter is nearly equal to that of the former, and the ratio of illiteracy as 1 is to 3. Excluding Dauphin County the compar-

ison is even more to the discredit of District I. These counties evidently have a relatively high illiteracy among the native population. The county that has the highest percentage of aliens among its foreign-born is Lebanon.

In conclusion, what will be the results of this large foreign element upon our ideals and institutions? For the present the question is indeterminable. We are not yet far enough removed from even the beginning of the New Immigration. We started a century and more ago with immigrants from the best stocks of Europe; our New Immigration has been from the worst. Low says the immigrant has stimulated liberty and asserted freedom; the immigrant has lessened the danger of sectionalism; "the immigrant has been the diastatic ferment in the American character." (28) As to the conflict between the native stock and the immigrant he says, "The effect of immigration is either to submerge or to stimulate the native stock: either the native stock will be absorbed and lose its identity in that of the alien, or conversely the immigrant will become incorporated into the native stock." (29) To quote him further, "Nothing has done so much to bring about that high level of mental and material prosperity in the United States as these continuous accessions of an unintellectual and poverty-stricken foreign element." (30) In reply to some writers' fears for the purity of the American type in view of the large influx of immigrants he says, "I have been unable to find any proof to support the theory that a dominant race, or a race superior in the scale of civilization is in danger from a race of less vitality or of a lower order." (31)

Some other students of the question are not so optimistic. Hall points out that the government, the state, society, industry, the political party, social and political ideals, —all are concepts and conventions created by individual men; and when individuals change, those change with them". (32) Likewise Eliot Norton writes, "Religion, rules, laws, and customs are only the national character in the forms of standards of conduct... The repeated introduction into a body of men of other men of other type or types cannot but tend to prevent its formation. Thus the nine-

teen millions of immigrants that have landed have tended to break up the type which was forming and to make the formation of any other type difficult. Every million more will only intensify this result, and the absence of a national character is a loss to every man, woman and child. It will show itself in our religion, rules of conduct, in our laws and in our customs." (33)

The experience of the United States in the coal strikes of the last two decades tends to prove this theory. It is among the alien and the illiterate that the agitator easily sows the seed of discontent. Smith in reference to conditions in coal-mining regions says, "As a class, the Pennsylvania miners are a socialistic and aggressive element, having precipitated more strikes and industrial troubles than any other workmen in the country. The foreign element is more apparent among the miners than in any other industry, and by reason of their occupation amalgamation is difficult." (34) This coincides with the position of such a recognized authority as Commons who says, "When once moved by the spirit of unionism the immigrants from low-standard countries are the most dangerous unionists, for they have no obligations, little property, and but meagre necessities that compel them to yield." (35)

For good or for evil the immigrant is here. He is here largely because of the better economic and social conditions in the United States as compared with his home-land. In him lie many unsolved problems on the one hand, but on the other there is new strength in the body politic, a wide field and opportunity for the promotion of international good-will, and by proper selection and guidance a boon to America's economic and social progress.

A. F. Southwick.

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THE SMITHFIELD STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PITTSBURGH, PENNA.

The first introduction of Methodism into Western Pennsylvania, of which we have any knowledge, was in 1772. Reason Pumphreys, a convert of Robert Strawbridge, came across the mountains from Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and settled at the head of Chartiers Creek, near the Indian village of Catfish, and where Washington now stands, he had a grant of thousand acres, which he called "Reason's Choice." He was a man of means, and with him were his wife, eight sons, seven servants, and four slaves. A number of his Maryland neighbors accompanied him, among them Eli Schle, a young man, another convert of Strawbridge. Whether he had authority from the church to do so we know not, but when the travellers halted on their journey he would preach to them and to any settlers that might be near their camping places. Settling in the new place he continued to preach to the settlers, going up the Monongahela valley, across to the home of Thomas Lackey on Ten Mile Creek, and very possibly coming down to the village called Pittsburgh, at the forks of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. He returned to Maryland in 1776 and shortly afterward died. Sometime between 1778 and 1780, Robert Wooster, an Englishman by birth and an itinerant minister, settled near Uniontown, by the advice of Bishop Asbury, and preached in various parts of western Pennsylvania. In 1784, the year of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Redstone Circuit appears among the appointments of the Church, with John Cooper and Samuel Breeze as preachers.

At the Conference held in Uniontown in 1788, the Pittsburgh Circuit was formed, with Charles Conoway as preacher in charge. The territory entering into it was taken from the Ohio Circuit in the west and Redstone Circuit in the south. Pittsburgh then was a small place, having in 1786, according to Judge Brackenridge, about one hundred houses. The religious work could not have been very great, as

Arthur Lee, one of the Virginia Lees, writing in 1784, said, "There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, church, or chapel." This must have been an exaggerated statement, as the German Evangelical Church, located at the corner of Smithfield Street and Sixth Avenue, was organized in 1782, and the records of the Redstone Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church show a Rev. Mr. Smith being sent to preach in Pittsburgh on the fourth Sunday in August, 1784. Rev. Wilson Lee, of the Redstone Circuit, preached in a tavern on Water Street, near Ferry, in 1785. On September 29, 1787, the legislature incorporated the "Presbyterian Congregation of the town of Pittsburgh." When Mr. Conoway came to Pittsburgh this congregation had a "church of square timbers and moderate dimensions," located on or near the site of the present First Presbyterian Church, and a pastor, the Rev. Samuel Barr. There was no Methodist society organized at this time, possibly no Methodist in the town, even in name. Where Mr. Conoway preached we have no record, nor at the end of the year were any members reported to Conference. During this first year of Mr. Conoway's pastorate, Bishop Asbury for the first time visited Pittsburgh, coming on Saturday, July 19th, 1789. He records, "I preached in the evening to a serious audience. This is the day of small things. What can we hope? Yet what can we fear!" Though no members were reported, the outlook must have been more hopeful, and Mr. Conoway was returned for another year, with Pemberton Smith as assistant, or, in Methodist parlance, junior preacher. At the end of this year ninety-seven members were reported. The next year, 1790, Mr. Conoway was made presiding elder, or, as now designated, district superintendent of a district, but the following year was again in charge of the circuit, and in the succeeding year was placed again on the district. Different preachers were appointed in following years, among them Daniel Hitt and Valentine Cook, who afterwards were very prominent in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The real force of Methodism as an organized body began in 1796, for in that year, John Wrenshall came to

Pittsburgh to engage in the mercantile business, and became one of the most prominent business men of the town, his store being located at what now is the corner of Market Street and Fourth Avenue. He was an Englishman by birth, a man of culture and piety, and held a license as a local preacher. Subsequently he was ordained by Bishop Asbury, across the border line of Ohio, the first Methodist ordination to take place in that state. One of his daughters married Judge Dent and was the mother of Julia Dent, the wife of Gen. U. S. Grant. It seems at this time there were no regular religious services in the town, and the Presbyterians were without a pastor, or supplies from 1795 to 1799. Dr. F. S. DeHass writes, "Soon after his (Wrenshall's) arrival as there was no minister or preaching of any kind in the place, he commenced holding services in an old deserted log church belonging to the Presbyterians, which stood on Wood Street, near Sixth Avenue, where Dr. Herron's church was afterward erected. His first sermon was from the text, "Worship God," and appeared to be greatly enjoyed by all in attendance, many of whom were officers and soldiers from the garrison. The congregations continued to increase, but after a few Sabbaths a padlock was placed upon the door, and a notice served upon Mr. Wrenshall that he could not have use of the building any longer. In this emergency, Mr. Peter Shiras who lived at the Point and owned the site of Fort Pitt, kindly offered a room in the barracks of the old fort, which was gladly accepted. Thus Fort Pitt which cost Great Britain over $250,000 became the first regular place for Methodist preaching in Pittsburgh. The society consisting at first of John Wrenshall, wife and daughter, Peter Shiras and wife, Robert McElhaney and wife, Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Chess, and James Kerr, continued their meetings here for seven years, when Mr. Shiras in 1802 sold the Fort to Gen. James O'-Hara and returned to his former home in New Jersey. The removal of Mr. Shiras, their class leader, was a great loss to the church in the wilderness, but shortly after, in the summer of 1803, Thomas Cooper, Sr., and his family, all Methodists, settled in Pittsburgh, and proved a great acquisition to the little flock now without a fold."

Mr. Cooper took the place of Mr. Shiras as class leader, and the reorganized band began to increase. Services were held in a one story frame building or kitchen back of Mr. Wrenshall's store on Fourth and Market Streets. But it was too inconvenient and contracted. Other places were tried but with the same results, and in 1806 Sabbath preaching was changed from Pittsburgh to McKeesport. In October 1807, Nathaniel Holmes and Edward Heazelton came from Ireland and located in Pittsburgh, and united with the little band. They were men of ability and piety and had much to do with the subsequent growth of the church. Mr. Holmes was the founder of the N. Holmes banking house, and Mr. Heazelton became prominent in business affairs.

Thomas Cooper, Jr., lived in a large stone dwelling on Smithfield and Water Streets, opposite to where the Monongahela House is now located. He offered a room in his house for services and, in 1808, Sabbath preaching was resumed in Pittsburgh, half the time by the regular ministers, and half the time by local preachers. Bishop Asbury visiting the town in 1803, writes under date of August 27, "In the Court House I spoke on Sabbath day to about four-hundred people. I would have preached again but the Episcopalians occupied the house. It is time we have had a house of our own." It was seven years after the Bishop wrote before a house was possessed. In 1810 a lot was purchased from Thomas Cooper on Front Street, now First Avenue at a cost of $300. It was opposite the lower end of the present Monongahela House, and had a frontage of 30 feet on Front Street, and ran back 80, parallel with Smithfield Street. The deed is dated June 21, 1810, and conveys the property to John Wrenshall, Robert McElhenney, Edward Hazelton, John Phillips, R. McElhenny, Jr., Nathaniel Holmes and Thomas Cooper, Jr., Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh. On this lot was erected a plain brick building, 30 by 40 feet. The building must have been commenced upon the obtaining of the ground, as Bishop Asbury records in his journal of August 26, 1810, "Preached on the foundation of the new chapel to about five hundred souls. I spoke again at five o'clock to about twice as many. The society here is lively and increasing in

numbers." The preachers then were William Knox and Joseph Lanston. Mr. Knox was the grand father of the late Senator Philander C. Knox. At this time the Pittsburgh Circuit reported 524 members, how many of whom were located in Pittsburgh proper we cannot say. The circuit was divided in 1811, and as newly constituted had 167 members. When this building was abandoned it was used for a time by the colored people. The congregation grew and in 1817 the membership had reached 280, and the church records show fifteen different classes. The need of a more commodious building was felt. At the Conference session in 1817, Andrew Hemphill was appointed to the pastorate, and immediate steps were taken to supply the need. Three lots on the corner of Smithfield and Seventh Streets were purchased from George Wiltenberger. The deed bears date of May 30, 1817, and the trustees were the same mentioned in the deed for the Front Street property. It was in the nature of a land lease, the trustees paying Mr. Miltenberger $300 annually, he agreeing to give them a deed in fee simple when they pay him $5,000. This was done seven years later, and the deed for the property is dated September 28, 1824, and is conveyed to Charles Avery, Nathaniel Holmes, John Phillips, Charles Craig, Samuel K. Page and James Verner as trustees. The building was commenced in 1817 and completed in 1818. It was a brick structure, large for that time, and had a gallery running around the rear and two sides of the building. The society increased in numbers, and under the pastorate of the Rev. Samuel Davis an extensive revival prevailed, bringing the membership to 597. Thomas Kennedy was appointed to the circuit in 1820, and this was the last time that Pittsburgh was associated with other churches in a circuit, henceforward it was a station. In 1821 John Baer was appointed pastor having associated with him Thomas J. Dorsey. Mr. Baer preached the first sermon in the new church, and in 1848, when the building was abandoned to make way for the present structure, he was sent for and preached the last sermon in the building.

When Conference boundaries were formed Pittsburgh was within the bounds of the Baltimore Conference, until

the formation of the Pittsburgh Conference, the first session of which was held in the new church, September 15-21, 1825. In the troubles that took place in the Methodist Episcopal Church, that led to the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church Pittsburgh was one of the centers of the strife. It was a revolt against the economy of the Church, particularly in regard to episcopal government, and the absence of lay representation. The Church was incorporated March 5, 1828. The corporate name was "The Methodist Church of Pittsburgh." The Rev. George Brown, who was one of the leaders in the new movement, claimed that "Episcopal" was left out because of the reform feeling prevalent in the congregation. Rev. Robert Hopkins, who presided at the congregational meeting at which the charter was adopted, said that serious objection was made to the omission of the word "Episcopal," but Charles Avery claimed that the legislature would not grant a charter with the word Episcopal in it as it was sectarian, and that several churches that had been incorporated had omitted the word for that reason. This statement was afterward found to be incorrect. It was made the basis of a charge against Mr. Avery by Nathaniel Holmes, but, upon the presentation of the charges, Mr. Avery notified the pastor that he was no longer a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The feeling grew very bitter and the Rev. George Brown was called to be the pastor of the "Reformers." For a time both elements occupied the Smithfield Street Church, holding services at different hours, but the new element desired full possession, and took possession and debarred the other pastors from the pulpit at the time allotted to them. The pastors then were the Revs. Z. H. Coston and Homer J. Clarke, they withdrew and, followed by those who were loyal to the church, marched down to the building on Front Street where Mr. Clarke preached. It was carried into the courts, and finally to the Supreme Court, and a new trial was ordered, but with the hope it would be amicably settled. This was followed, and in August 1833 a division was made, the Smithfield property being returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the burying ground located where the Pennsylvania Station now stands, and $2,000 were given to the Methodist Protest-

ants. Other church organizations were being formed in Alleghenytown, Birmingham, on Liberty Street, and Bayardstown, and for several years they constituted a circuit, being served by all the preachers. In 1835 they were separated and the appointments for that year were, Smithfield Street, Charles Cooke, Liberty Street, Matthew Simpson, Birmingham, Gideon D. Kinnear.

In the passing years the growth of the Smithfield Street congregation demanded a larger and better building. During the pastorate of Dr. William Cox, one morning in a sermon he made mention of the need. The next evening at a meeting of the Official Board, Mr. William Birmingham, said he felt they needed a new church building, and that he would give $1,000 toward it. It is said that up to that date that was the largest subscription ever made in Pittsburgh, by an individual toward the building of a church. With this as an incentive the project was carried forward. As already stated the last sermon in the old building was preached by the Rev. John Baer, which occurred on the last Sabbath in May, 1848. On Christmas Day, 1848, the new building was dedicated, the sermon being preached by Bishop L. L. Hamline. Two incidents connected with the coming into the new church show the difference of views then and now. Up to that time there had been no instrumental music used in any church in the bounds of the Pittsburgh Conference. The chorister, Mr. Samuel McKinley, proposed to use in connection with the music on the day of dedication, a bass viol and, possibly, another instrument. It created such a contention that it was abandoned. In all Methodist churches, outside of New England, the men and women sat apart in time of worship. The trustees recommended family sittings, which created a great stir, even the Bishop desiring the action be rescinded, but the pastor favored it and the proposition was carried out.

Now after three quarters of a century of use, and the great changes in the down town section of Pittsburgh, it is felt that a new church building, equipped to meet present conditions should be built, and under the leadership of Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, Superintendent of the Pittsburgh Church Union, and pastor of the church, the plans have been pre-

pared and arrangements are being made for the building. It is not definitely decided as to size, but most likely it will be a twenty story structure. The basement will be used for a thoroughly equipped gymnasium. The first floor will be rented for business purposes, the Methodist Book Concern occupying a portion of it. The second floor, and the equivalent of the floor above it will be used for the church auditorium. Dr. Marsh has a scheme to make it a memorial room by placing in a bronze frieze, the names suggested by any one contributing twenty-five dollars toward the building. The next floor above the auditorium will be used for the educational and recreational work of the church. The next floor will be used for the headquarters of various Methodist agencies and organizations, including the offices of the Bishop, the Centenary work, the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* and the Church Union, and the chapel to be used for the Preachers' Meetings. The other floors will be rented producing an income for the maintenance of the building. The growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this section from the humble beginnings herein narrated is seen in the current reports of the Pittsburgh District of the Pittsburgh Conference. In it there are 45 congregations with a membership of 25,891, and a Sunday School enrollment of 25,209, and a church property valued at $3,585,496, and paying for ministerial support $171,344, while in the Conference there are appointments with a membership of 116,606 and a church property valued at $10,919,606.

In the long list of ministers that filled the pulpit of the Smithfield Street Church, first as the only congregation in the city, then as the Smithfield Street organization, there have been some of the most distinguished ministers of the Church. In the early days the authorities changed the pastors every year, then the limit was made two years, then later it was extended to three, and again to five, and in 1900 the limit was entirely removed. Among them were seven who became Bishops, Robert R. Roberts; Henry B. Bascom, who was the first president of Madison College, Uniontown, the third collegiate institution under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a man of great eloquence, who served as chaplain to Congress, who, in the division on the

slavery question in 1844, went with the southern section and was elected bishop; Matthew Simpson, the friend of Abraham Lincoln, whose lecture on "Our Country" and addresses in this country and abroad during the time of the Civil War, did much to maintain the cause of the Union; Charles W. Smith, for twenty-four years editor of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, who then was elected Bishop, serving six years, until his death; Naptali Luccock, whose Episcopal life was brief, dying three years after he was consecrated to that office; Charles Bayard Mitchell, at the head of the St. Paul area, now making a tour around the world; Charles Edward Locke in charge of the work in the Philipine Islands. Others are, Martin Ruter, the first Methodist minister in this country to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and the first president of Allegheny College, Meadville; Asa Shinn, a profound thinker, author of several theological works, and one of the founders of the Methodist Protestant Church; Charles Elliott, at various times editor of the *Pittsburgh*, the *Western* and the *Central Christian Advocates*; William Hunter, editor, professor, poet; and numerous others which space will not permit to enumerate. In two instances father and son have both served as pastors, George S. Holmes in 1833, and Charles A. Holmes 1864-66, Wesley Smith in 1836, and his son Charles W. Smith, 1876-1878. Today Dr. Marsh and his associate, the Rev. W. L. Hogg, are measuring up to the high standard of their predecessors.

GRAFTON E. REYNOLDS.

Notes and Queries

A GENERAL REGISTER OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH MARCH 3rd, 1818*

ANDREW HEMPHILL

Samuel Davis Thomas Kinerly	1819 & 1820
John Bear Thomas Dorsey	1825
Richard Tydings	1822 & 1823
Asa Shinn	1824 & 1825
William Stephens	1826
Charles Cooke	1827
John Waterman Robert Hopkins—2 mos. in 1829	1828
William Lambdin Jacob Flake	1829
Z. H. Coston Homer I. Clarke	1830
Wesley Browning	1831

NAMES OF THE OFFICIAL MEMBERS OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN PITTSBURGH IN THE YEAR 1818

Local Preachers

Charles Avery	Local Deacon
Launcelot Becom	Licensed Deacon
James Munden	Licensed Deacon

Stewards

Thomas Cooper
Nathaniel Holmes
John Phillips

Class Leaders

Charles Avery	One Class
Thomas Cooper	Three Classes
Launcelot Beacom	One Class
Thomas Tackeberry	Two Classes
Adam Baker	Two Classes
Charles Craig	One Class
Jesse Burbage	One Class
John Horn	One Class
John Thornhill	One Class
Robert McElhenny	One Class
Edward Moore	One Class

*Material furnished by O. S. Decker who secured and copied the records.

MARRIAGES CELEBRATED BY REV. L. R. FECHTIG IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY CO., PA.

1818

June 4th—James Black to Miss Margaretta Hull
June 2nd—John Winright to Miss Rosanna Porter
July 2nd—Philip Kingsland to Miss Rachel Ward
July 14th—Copernicus Walters to Miss Margaretta McRoberts
July 22nd—Rev. Lemuel Lane to Miss Elizabeth Bates
Oct. 14th—David Earle to Miss Mary Cunningham
Oct. 22nd—George Thorpe to Ann Stevenson
Oct. 29th—Oliver Cunningham to Miss Eliza Carter
Nov. 26th—John Chess to Mary Middleswart
Dec. 3rd—James Varner to Elizabeth McNickel
Dec. 17th—James Stewart to Nancy Gordon

1819

Jan. 7th—James Lansdown to Jane Fulyard
Jan. 14th—Thomas Park to Miss Sarah McGibbins

MARRIAGES BY L. DAVIS

1819

April 20th—Richard Taylor to Miss Martha Blackburn
April 20th—William P. Hughes to Miss Emily Earle

1820

Thompson Church to Miss Harriet Walters
June 29th—William Ganey to Miss Sarah Church
July 4th—David Green to Miss Emily McCord
Nov. 22nd—Dr. Thomas Fowler to Miss Mary Ann Burrell

MARRIAGES BY JOHN BEAR

1821

April 17th—Andrew Wilson to Miss Elizabeth Schoby
April 19th—Peter Moor to Miss Martha W. Boggs
Sept. 12th—William Holdship to Miss Elizabeth Ray
Oct. 23rd—Thomas Agnew to Miss Elizabeth Davis
Nov. 8th—John Magill to Miss Polly Dumars
Nov. 8th—James Shidle to Miss Almire Crosby
Nov. 12th—John Jones of Washington, Pa., to Mary Robinson of Pittsburgh
Nov. 13th—George Wallace to Miss Rosannah Gestner
Dec. 24th—John Rutledge to Miss Mariah Harrison

1822

Jan. 17th—Samuel Hazlett to Miss Sarah Johns.
Done in Washington, Pa.
Feb. 7th—Samuel Irvin to Miss Catherine Kaufman
Mar. 14th—John Howkins to Miss Juliana Hoffman

MARRIAGES BY THOMAS I. DORSEY

1821

May 3rd—Tierner Blasford to Miss Eliza Sutton
June 9th—Robert Elder to Miss Francis Davis

MARRIAGES BY CHARLES ELLIOTT

1831

Oct. 27th—James Wood to Miss Margaret Chestnut
Nov. 22nd—John Sellers to Miss Mary Anderson

1832

Mar. 22—Robert Evans to Miss Jane Park
Mar. 22nd— ——— ——— to Miss ——— Hill
July 15th—Nicholas Millar to Miss Sarah Speers
July 29th—Barton Gray to Lydia Adams

THIS CLASS MEETS IN THE OLD MEETING HOUSE, SUNDAY, 9 A. M. JOHN THORNHILL, LEADER

1818

James Walker
John Greere
James Munden
David Greer
John Martin
John Town
Samuel Schofield
John Galleher
Edward Hastings
David Hastings
James Black
Thomas Parks
Jacob Pratt
Samuel Phillips
Launcelot Beacom
Thomas Tackeberry
John Phillips
Frederick Horn
Nicholas Menor
Joseph Wright
Patrick Peppard
James Howley
George Eckert
William Nelson
John Griffith
James Walker
John Anderson
John Stewart
David Frouser
Elias Shiner
Charles Gregill
Edward McGibbins
James Varner
Isaac White
Thos. Salters
Jas. Borbridge
Thomas Owens
Douglas McCorkle
Thos. Robinson
Standish Peppard
Wm. Kaely
——— Boarland

THIS CLASS MEETS AT DUMARS SCHOOL ROOM, SUNDAY A. M. EDWARD MOORE, LEADER

1818

Adam Baker
Joshua Crosby
Joseph Allender
James Knox
Samuel Shannon
Jacob Tucker
James Tucker
Thomas Arthurs
Philip Kingsland
Robert Franklin
John Beacom
Joseph Reddy
Charles L. Armstrong
Jacob Rollins
James Dumars
William Roseman
Joseph Jewell
William Harning
Joshua Way
John B. Grey
John Lindsay
Isaac Heather
Robert Holmes
William Leanord
John Ward
James Leanord
William Scannell
Patrick Leanord
George Hurst
George Gardner
Oliver English
Amos Olivers
James Martin
Thomas Hall
George Cill
Copernicus Walters
John Anderson
Samuel Miller
John Cooper
David Scannell
Joseph Alender
James Irwin
John Flecher
David Horseman
John Henderson
Peter Brown
Augustus Waters
Richard Taylor
Robert Griffin
Jas. Thompson
Edward Hazlet
Robt. Gibbins
Jas. Willis
Stephen Sharp
Jas. Jackson
George Hurst
Jas. Beard

THIS CLASS MEETS AT NATHANIEL HOLMES, SUNDAY, 9 A. M.

THOMAS COOPER, LEADER

1818

John Ward
Isaih Scott
Henry Holdship
William Graham
Samuel Page
James Clark
Jonathan Hamnet
George Scott
Harrison Scholey
John Fielding
John Thornhill
John Wainwright
John McGill
William Fitzsimmond
Jethro Crosby
Christopher Graham
John Sheldon
George Glasford
Andrew Cassady
John Marshall
James Scoley, Sr.
James Knox
William Adams
Thompson Church
John Parsons
Robt. Wilson
John Lee
——— Douthit
Edward Hastings
John Wrenshall

THIS CLASS MEETS AT JAMES WALKER'S, MONDAY 3 P. M.

LAUNCELOT BEACOM, LEADER

1818

Mary Walker
Mary Beacom
Jane Wright
Sidney Beacom
Lucinda Johnson
Catherine Walker, Sr.
Catherine Scott
Catherine Walker, Jr.
Elizabeth Henderson
Sarah Black
Margrett Scott
Ann Hicks
Betsy Freeman
Elizabeth Graham
Ellva Baker
Margaret Hicks
Lydia English
Margrett Fitzsimmons
Elizabeth Crozer
Elizabeth Varner
Ann Irwin
Mary Robinson
Elizabeth Phearson
Elizabeth Sherad
Rebecca Knox
Betsy Baker

THIS CLASS MEETS AT JOHN HORN'S, MONDAY, 3 P. M.

CHARLES CRAIG, LEADER

1818

Nancy McCoy
Sarah Horn
Elizabeth Holmes
Hetty Burbage
Maria Kenear
Margrett Holmes
Catherine Beacom
Sarah Kingsland
Sarah Kingsland
Jane May
Elizabeth Irvin
Susanah Menear
Margaret Hull
Susanah Horn
Margaret Johnston
Elizabeth Hutchinson
Agnes Waters
Sarah Yoe
Elliner Holmes
Elizabeth Arthurs
Elizabeth Carr
Eliza Patterson
Prisilla Holmes
Nancy Bowman
Mary McCormick
Ann Munden
Elizabeth Tackaberry
Edith Groves
Mary Robinson
Cath. Silhart
Mary Ann Phillips

THIS CLASS MEETS IN THE OLD MEETING HOUSE,

MONDAY, 2 P. M.

CHARLES AVERY, LEADER

1818

Prudence Lamden	Elizabeth Cooper	Unity Donald
Calista Trothe	Mary Gibson	Mary Adams
Martha Black	Mary Callow	Sarah McCord
Mary Cooper	Nancy McCandless	Harriett Peters
Susan McCord	Mary Holmes	Jane Holmes
Jane Sloan	Margrett Holmes	Jane Findly
Elizabeth Moreland	Fanny Wrenshall	Ann Town
Catherine Holdship	Sarah Wrenshall	Jane Salters
Martha Avery	Rachel Pratt	Margt. Berry
Nancy Lindell	Nancy Ward	Emily Page
Catherine Stilman	Maud Smith	Rosanna Einright
Nancy Eckert	Elizabeth Dalles	Mary Bosbridge
Mary Chess	Sarah Black	Martha W. Boggs
Nesse McElhinney	Elizabeth Keyes	Lucinda Sewell
Elizabeth Thompson	Elizabeth McDonneld	Lucy Knox
Mary Roseman	Ann Rice	Mary Dillon
Catherine Fitzsimmonds	Margaret Greere	Isabella McCouch

(To be continued in January issue).

Department of Old Newspaper Clippings

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 17, 1973.

* *

* * This publication commences the eighth year fince the firft eftablishment of the Pittsburgh Gazette. The Printer returns his moft grateful acknowledgments to the public for the fupport he has received, and folicits a continuance of their patronage. The expence he is at in procuring paper, &c. for carrying on his bufinefs, being very confiderable, he flatters himfelf he will be excufed in AGAIN calling on thofe who are in arrears to make payment, and as an inducement for them to comply with this requeft, he will receive wheat, rye, or whifkey, if delivered by the firft of November next, at Col. Canon's mill on Chartiers creek; Captain Rankin's mill, Racoon; and Doctor Wilkin's mill, Peters creek; and flour or whifkey, if delivered to John Henderfon, Efq., Mingo Bottom; Capt. John Connell, Mouth of Buffaloe; Mr. Henry Smith, Whelen, and at the Printing Office. He hopes attention will be paid to this, as it will be out of his power to give any further indulgence, and all outftanding debts of the year 1792, not paid by the time before mentioned, will, without fail, be put into proper hands for recovery.

John Scull.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
July 4, 1793.

I HEREBY authorife Ifaac Pearce, poftrider, on the route to Morgan Town, and David Donelly, poftrider, on the route to Whelen, to receive any money on my account from thofe who may be in arrears for the Pittfburgh Gazette, and receipt for the fame.

Thofe indebted will take notice and pay the faid poftriders, which will particularly oblige. John Scull.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
February 1, 1794.

ISAAC PEARCE poftrider, on the route to Morgantown, takes the liberty of requefting thofe who have not paid agreeable to the terms of his fubfcription paper, that they will immediately do it; and as he propofes continuing to ride until January 1795, (and longer if he receives encouragement) he folicits a continuance of the public favor; in the mean time informs fuch as chufe to decline employing him, that they are at liberty at any time on paying what may be due to the printer, and to himfelf.

April 1, 1794.

GENTLEMEN

My fincere thanks are due to thofe who have been regular in their payments for the Pittfburgh Gazette, and poftage; I would alfo be thankful to thofe who intend to pay to do it fhortly, that I may know who will, and who will not pay, as I am determined not to be put off much longer.

ISAAC PEARCE, Poftrider.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 16, 1794.

WAS LOFT ON THE 12th OR 13th inftant, on the road between Brownfville and Morgan Town, a Three Dollar Bank Note, number date unknown. Any perfon finding faid note, and returning it to me fhall receive one dollar reward.

ISAAC PEARCE, Poftrider.

January 6th, 1795.

* * The time being expired for * which Ifaac Pearce engaged to carry the Pittsfburgh Gazette, on the route to Morgan Town, the fubfcriber has employed another perfon to take his place, under the same regulations.

The Printer regrets, that, owing to the ficknefs of Mr. Pearce, the papers have not for thefe few weeks been

conveyed fo regularly as heretofore, he however hopes that now this difficulty will be removed. Thofe in arrears will pay Mr. Pearce, as he propofes calling on them in the courfe of ten days or two weeks he expects they will generally difcharge their balances.

The printer returns his thanks to all his cuftomers for the encouragment and fupport he has received, and, as he expects an affortment of Printing Type by the firft fpring veffels that may arrive in Philadelphia, he hopes to render the Pittfburgh Gazette ftill more worthy of the public favor. John Scull.

Pittsburgh Gazette

NOTICE.

All perfons indebted to the eftate of James M'Farlane, deceafed, are requefted to make immediate payment, and all perfons having any juft demands thereon, are requested to render their accounts properly authenticated, to the fubfcribers.

Andrew M'Farlane,
Francis M'Farlane,
"Adminftrs."

Allegheny County,
August 17, 1795.

N. B. A large Farn to be rented by the subscribers.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 7, 1794.

LOST, on the 12th of July laft, two Obligations belonging to or payable to the fubfcriber, living in Robinfon townfhip, Wafhington county, one of them a note of hand for eighty pounds, dated October 19th, 1792, and payable three months after the date thereof; the other, a judgment bond for one hundred and twenty pounds, dated 29th October, 1793, and payable May 1st 1794, on the back of faid judgment bond there is credit given for ninety pounds eighteen fhillings and nine pence, dated May 21, 1794. Noble's mill on Robinfon's run and Fort Pitt, or in Fort Pitt; as I have given the gentleman by whom thofe obligations were given, notice thereof, I request the finder to return them to me, or leave them with the printer hereof, and they fhall be paid any reafonable charge for their trouble. I difcharge all perfons from taking an affignment on them.

JOHN M'DONALD.

N. B. The reafon I did not attend at Braddock's Field, was the firft orders being countermanded, and my wife and child lying fick in a dangerous condition.

They were loft on the road between

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 12, 1794.

WHEREAS fome evil minded and ill difpofed perfons, with a view, no doubt, to injure me, both in my character and property, have cilculated two false reports againft me and my family; one is, that when I was laft in Philadelphia I informed upon the diftillers on this side of the mountain, who had not entered their ftills with the excife man, and had received three hundred pounds for the fame, and that I came up with the federal fheriff to Fayette county—the other is, that Mrs. M'Kee fhould have faid, that, if Tom the Tinker burnt all we had, the ftates would make it good.

Now, I do hereby folemnly declare the above reports to be false & groundlefs; that I do not know Clymer or Miller the excife men, nor Lenox the federal fheriff, nor ever fpoke a word to one of them in my life, and of this I am willing to make oath if called upon. And I do hereby call upon the malicious and falfe propagators to come forward and fubftantiate the charges, and do hereby put the world of mankind to defiance to prove or fupport the fame.

John M'Kee.

Mouth of Yough, Auguft 12, 1794.

The Pittsburgh Gazette

August 9, 1794.

We, the underfigned, on behalf of ourfelves and the great body of the column that marched from Braddock's Field on the 3rd inftant, think it neceffary to exprefs our difapprobation of the diforderly proceedings of thofe of the troops who were concerned in fetting fire to the barn of Abraham Kirkpatrick on the hill oppofite the town of Pittfburgh; alfo of the attempt made by others of burning his houfe in town; as thefe acts was not within the fentence of the committee of volunteers on Braddock's Field, and therefore there could be no authority for carrying them into effect.

We confider it as a blemifh on the good order of the march of the column through the town of Pittfburgh, and their cantonment in the neighborhood of it. It has been endeavored to be removed as much as poffible by repairing the tenant of Kirkpatrick his damages.

Francis M'Farlane
Edward Cook,
Thomas Sedgwick,
Thomas Stokely,
John Hamilton,
David Hamilton,
James Perry,
Abfalom Baird,
William Nailor,
James Marfhel,
Dixon Hufton,
John Hughs,
William Meetkerke,
Hamilton Hufton,
William M'Clure.

The Pittsburgh Gazette

July 20, 1794.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

In my houfe at Bower Hill, on Chartiers creek, which was attacked, plundered & burnt by the rioters on Thursday evening laft, were Four Thoufand Sixty Cents, funded debt of the United States, in my own name, in two certificates, viz. No. 775 for 3631 dollars 21 cents, 6 per cents, and No. 603 for 980 dollars 43 cents, 3 per cents. This is to caution the public leaft they may be offered for fale with forged powers or conveyance; intereft is ftopped at the bank, and every legal meafure taken to prevent impofition. If they are fallen into the hands of an honeft man, he can return them to Col. Prefley Nevill, in Pittfburgh. I alfo caution the public not to receive affignments on any bonds or notes to me, as they are in the fame fituation.

July 20, 1794. John Nevill.

The Pittsburgh Gazette

March 15, 1795.

* * A fpecial meeting of the Pittf-
* burgh Fire Company is requefted at the houfe of Andrew Watfon, this evening at fix o'clock.

March 15, 1794.

—The Librarian.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

249—Painting

"Jack," the famous dog of the One Hundred and Second regiment of Pennslyvania volunteers.

Twice wounded, three times taken prisoner, and having fought in a score of battles during the Civil War, was a part of the interesting career of "Jack," a bull-dog, which accompanied members of the old Niagara fire company (of Pittsburgh, Pa.) when they enlisted and became a part of the One Hundred and Second regiment.

Jack accompanied the regiment through the following battles: Yorktown, the battle of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Savage Station, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Mary's Heights, Salem Heights, Mine Run, the Seven Days' battle, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Petersburg, the defense of Washington, July 11, 1864; Winchester, Flint Hill, Fisher's Hill and Middletown. At the battle of Malvern Hill he was shot through the shoulder and back, for many days he hovered between life and death, his sufferings brought many tears to the eyes of his sorrowing comrades. Finally he recovered, and took to the field, amid the hearty cheers of his regiment. The dog was intelligent beyond the average; he thoroughly understood the call of the bugle, and responded to its notes with alacrity. To the wounded he brought succor, and picked out members of his own regiment from among the dead; many a famished, wounded soldier, suffering from hunger and parched with thirst, lying on the field of battle, owes his delivery to the almost human intelligence of Jack. He wandered over the battlefield in quest of his beloved comrades, and many a poor fellow lying wounded on the field of the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania and Winchester, was aroused from his unconsciousness by the timely arrival of the regimental dog.

At Salem Heights he was captured, held a prisoner at Belle Isle, where for six long weary months he cheered the Union prisoners of war, many a prisoner within the dismal fortification of that famous prison will ever remember with grateful recognition the presence of the faithful animal. At the end of six months he was exchanged for a Confederate soldier. During the engagement at Savage Station he was again taken prisoner, but only detained six hours. During the entire war he followed the regiment, and when the army assembled in Washington for the grand review, Jack was one of the conspicuous features of the parade. Years after, when any of the old comrades visited his master, he was the first one to greet them with manifestations of the greatest joy. Six years after the close of the war, and having shared the honors of the veteran, Jack died. A small but beautiful monument marks his last resting place, inscribed with the inscription: "Here Lies a Comrade. Courageous in Battle and Faithful to the End." Painted by N. Garland, Scenic Artist, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1864.

Presented by Charles Shults.

250—Painting

"Old Allegheny City Hall." Painted by N. D. McCandless.
Presented by Hon. James M. Magee.

251—Photograph

"Old State Penitentiary of Western Pennsylvania."
Presented by Miss Margaret Agnew.

252—Drawing, 72x96

"The Old Foster Homestead." Birthplace of Stephen Collins Foster, July 4, 1826. Drawn by K. Ackermann.
Presented by W. W. Griffen.

253—Photograph, 32½x52

"Carnegie Museum, Library and Music Hall."
Presented by Mrs. Simon Johnston.

254—Photograph, 32x44

Hon. James Veech, author of "The Monongahela of Old."
Presented by Miss Rebecca Veech.

255—Sword

An English Officer's Sword, plowed up on Braddock's battlefield in 1855, one hundred years after the battle. Immediately thereafter it came into the possession of Colonel William L. Miller, and has since remained in his family. Colonel Miller, whose father, Noah Miller, was a soldier of the American Revolution, was born in 1792. Early in the following century he came to Fayette County, Penn'a., and remained there until 1855, when he purchased and settled upon land at the mouth of Turtle Creek opposite the scene of Braddock's disastrous defeat. At that time and for some years thereafter the ruins of Frazer's cabin was one of the local landmarks. Colonel Miller laid out and largely built up the town of Port Perry, which has now almost disappeared to make room for the extensive railroad improvements and yards that serve the Edgar-Thomson steel plant.

It was the original site of lock and dam No. 2 of the Monongahela Navigation Company. The water-power developed by this dam was utilized by Col. Miller's son, George T. Miller, for the operation of a large sawmill in connection with the construction of boats and barges for the river coal trade in which he was engaged. He also built and for many years operated a water-power grist mill located on Turtle Creek not far below the stone-arch bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad at East Pittsburgh.

Presented by John F. Miller, son of George T. Miller, and grandson of Col. William L. Miller.

256—Minnie-Balls

Used during the Civil War. Belonging to James Cook Hough, Company E, One Hundred and Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania. Enlisted August 25, 1861.
Presented by Alexander S. Guffey.

257—Frame

Containing two pens, one used by the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania, when fighting the "Cook Bill" for a "Greater Pittsburgh," at Harrisburg, Wednesday, February 7th, 1906.

Pen No. 2 used by the Honorable Henry F. Walton, Speaker of the House of Representatives, when signing the "Cook Bill" for a "Greater Pittsburgh," at Harrisburg, Wednesday, February 7th, 1906. Presented to Colonel Charles Alexander Rook, Editor, The Pittsburgh Dispatch, by Governor Pennypacker and Speaker Walton.

Presented by Colonel Chas. A. Rook.

258—Frame

Containing the following petition:

To the honorable Select and Common Councils of the City of Pittsburgh.

The petition of the subscribers inhabitants of the said City Respectfully Showeth.

That fraud and imposition are frequently practised upon the Citizens of Pittsburgh by venders of Whiskey and other ardent spirits, when purchased in large lots by reason of the manufacturers or venders exhibiting samples taken from a few casks containing liquor of a good quality, and representing the entire lot to be of the same quality, when upon a full examination the greater part of the barrels or casks contain liquor of a very inferior quality which often creates difficulties between the seller and the buyer. Therefore, to obviate the evil thus complained of, your petitioners pray your honorable body to pafs an Ordinance authorizing and requiring the City Gauger to inspect the quality and proof of the liquor contained in each and every cask by him gauged, and mark the same upon the head of each cask respectively.

And they will pray, &c.

May 16th, 1828.

Samuel Frew	Isaac Haven	Thomas M'Fadden
Geo. Brud	Hugh Davis	Joseph Caskey
David Greer	James Gormly, Jr.	John D. Davis
Benj. Darlington	John Whitten	Andrew Leech
Wm. Holmes	James Verner	John Grier
D. Fitzsimons	Wm. Mullen	Wm. Porter
Thos. Fairman	O. Wm. Barr	James Brown
Wm. D. Harris & Co.	Nathan Carlisle	
Wm. Fitzsimons	Hugh Robertson	
John McCormick	John M'Allister	

Presented by Hon. James M. Magee.

259—Volume

"The Holy Experiment," a Message to the World from Pennsylvania.

A series of Mural Paintings in the Governors Reception Room and in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Painted and Illustrated by Violet Oakley.

Presented by Mrs. William Thaw.

The Librarian.

THE SOCIETY IS GREATLY INDEBTED TO THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS

Presented by Col. Charles A. Rook:
Forty-two engravings and photographs
Large album of photographs
Large album of views.
Two small albums of views
Four large maps
One small table

Presented by Omar S. Decker:
Forty-three volumes
Thirty-five pamphlets
Old manuscripts, programs and announcement cards
Old almanacs, three large maps, old city directories

Presented by Burd S. Patterson:
Thirty-five volumes,
Twenty pamphlets, large American flag

Presented by General Albert J. Logan:
Volume. The Twenty-Eighth Division, Pennsylvania Guard. In the World War. Forewords by Commanding Generals. The History of the Keystone or Iron Division in the World War. Also the History and Traditions of the Pennsylvania National Guard and its Predecessor, the Pennsylvania Militia.

Presented by Mrs. E. M. Davis:
Old volumes, pamphlets, newspaper clippings and pictures.

Presented by George Bryan Logan:
Volume. George Bryan and The Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791, by Burton Alva Konkle.

Presented by Francis Armstrong, Jr.:
Volume. The True Story of the American Flag, by John H. Fow.

Presented by Wm. H. Stevenson:
Volume. Pittsburgh's Tribute to Her Gifted Son, Stephen Collins Foster. The Dedication of "The Old Kentucky Home," Bardstown, Kentucky, July 4, 1923.

Presented by Dr. George P. Donehoo:
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